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Herodot und das Persische Weltreich
Herodotus and the Persian Empire

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Inhalt

Das Bild der epichorischen Quellen und der archäologische Befund

Der dynastische Aspekt und die Ausbreitung der Herrschaft bis zur Ionischen Erhebung

Cyrus the Persian and Darius the Elamite:
a Case of Mistaken Identity[*]

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1. Introduction: from Cyrus to Darius

For Herodotus, Cyrus and Darius were both unquestionably Persian. In the "Histories", the ethnicity of the kings receives full emphasis when, in a magnificent scene, the dying Cambyses addresses the empire's grandees gathered round his deathbed and urges them not to let power slip back to the Medes.[1] It is Darius who subsequently kills the magus and continues Cyrus' imperial project, which is based on Persian domination. Whatever perception Herodotus may have had of 'Medes' and 'Persians,' or how clear-cut such distinctions could actually have been among contemporary Iranians need not be discussed here: the point to be singled out is that Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius were all Persians to the Greek historian. At the same time, Cyrus is unmistakably portrayed as different from Darius. The story of Cyrus' rise to power is enshrined in a popular folktale that gives it a certain 'beyond' quality. The theme is that of the birth and exposure of the hero[2] and Herodotus must have known that it would strike a familiar chord with a Greek audience familiar with stories like those centring on Perseus and Oedipus; it is also precisely because of this familiarity that the story is convincing. Though Herodotus never loses his touch of irony and adds a rationalising edge ('Spako'), he nevertheless indulges in telling us *in extenso* the first (I.107–122) and paraphrasing the second (I.122.3) of no less than four versions (I.95.1) he knew about Cyrus' birth. The folktale to which these versions belong – and I stress again that this would not be lost to a Greek audience – casts an aura of divine benevolence and guidance over its protagonist and, in versions that preserve the motif of nursing by wild animals, even pictures the child as sacred, as centre-point in a powerful reversal of normal order. Furthermore, the hero's ability to overcome any difficulty and

1 Hdt. III.65.6; cf. I.129–30, III.73.1 and Plato Leg. III 695b. See Asheri et al. 2007: 463.
2 Synthesis: Binder 1964, B. Lewis 1980; cf., more recently, Kuhrt 2003 (stressing the importance and ideological potency of the rags-to-riches motif) and Henkelman 2006a: 833–37, especially note 65.

fulfil his destiny amply demonstrates his fitness for kingship and legitimises, all by itself, his future reign. On top of this, the extended version told by Herodotus is construed around a 'dynastic parasitism' that makes Cyrus a grandson of Astyages. Though Darius' rise to power is likewise a story that is shaped to point, from the very beginning, to the selection of Hystaspes' son as the new king of Persia, it also portrays Darius as a relative outsider, son of a nobleman yet apparently not of direct royal lineage.[3] More important, Herodotus pictures the new king above all as a shrewd and quick-minded individual. These talents are the determining factors that establish his kingship. And if all of this was not enough, there is the famous antithesis of Cyrus the 'father' and Darius the κάπηλος.[4]

It would seem that not only later Greek tradition – notably Xenophon's image of the noble Cyrus and his as yet uncorrupted Persians – but also modern scholarship has for a long time used Herodotus' antithesis between Cyrus and Darius as a silent axiom that could be used to explain or construct developments on the political, administrative, cultural or religious level. Thus, some have confidently attributed a religious reform towards Mazdaism to Darius, away from the Mithraism supposedly upheld by Cyrus.[5] From the latter, no inscriptions expounding his religious beliefs are extant, as there are from Darius. Theories about the 'religion of Cyrus' are therefore often built on circumstantial evidence *and* on the – mostly unargued – conviction that Darius was fundamentally different from Cyrus. In this light it is almost ironic that in the only case where directly parallel traditions exist – be it on pragmatic religious policy, not religious views as such – a strong continuity from Cyrus to Darius is found. Cyrus called upon Marduk when arguing his legitimate right to the Babylonian throne in the Cyrus Cylinder; similarly, the Babylon version of the Bīsotūn inscription exalts Bēl(-Marduk) – not Auramazdā! – as the supreme god guiding Darius to his many victories.[6]

In its strict form, the traditional contrast between Cyrus and Darius is not corroborated by primary evidence. Darius himself does not hesitate to claim, whatever that claim is worth from a *modern* perception of dynastic rights, that he was of the same family as Cyrus the Great and his son Cambyses and the ninth in a succession of kings. While the new king was probably playing with the wider and narrower meanings of OPers. *taumā*- ("extended family, clan" vs. "ruling family, dynasty") and *xšāyaθiya*- ("exercising power, ruler" vs. "king"), there is no reason to doubt that he was in fact a member of the ruling elite of the Persians; his function as δορύφορος at Cambyses' court (Hdt. III.139.2) and the prestige that came with this title provide a case in point.[7] Moreover, the legitimacy of his reign was

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3   Primacy of Darius in the "Histories": Briant 2002: 107–13. Non-royal background: Rollinger 1998a: 191–2.

4   Hdt. III.89.3. On the significance of 'κάπηλος' see Descat 1994.

5   See notably Duchesne-Guillemin 1974, whose main argument for postulating Cyrus' devotion to Mithra is a comparison between the floral symbol on Cyrus' tomb with a similar symbol on a more than 900 years younger relief at Tāq-e Bostān. Apart from that, positive evidence is sought in the onomasticon (*miça*-/*miθra*- names); on the problematic nature of this evidence see Schmitt 1991a. On the elusive 'religion of Cyrus' (not to mention the 'religion of the Medes') see also the pertinent remarks by Briant 2002: 94.

6   See Seidl 1999a: 109–10, pl. 10a (fr. 7 l.5': ᵈEN, "Bēl") and 1999b: 299. Compare B. Jacobs 2006: 217, who also stresses the importance of the parallel. On Achaemenid religious policy see now Kuhrt 2007d. On Cyrus' Marduk see Van der Spek [forthcoming].

7   On the title (and Darius' position before his kingship) see Briant 2002: 112, Henkelman 2003a: 119–22.

evidently not defined by a well-crafted lie, but simply by his successful bid for the throne, as well as by the subsequent military and political victories that secured his control, just as had been the case with 'father' Cyrus. Both kings acted in similar context, that of consolidating a vast, newly-gained empire, and were faced with similar problems in doing so. Though there is no reason to deny Darius credit for his organisational skills, there is even less reason to overstate the issue and thereby to neglect pre-existing structures and developments or the organisational efforts and achievements of Cyrus and Cambyses.[8]

    To confine myself to the example best known to me: the Persepolis Fortification tablets, dated to years 13 to 28 of Darius, are witness to an economic development of the Persian heartland on a massive scale and to an unprecedented expansion of state-control. As such they would, at least at face-value, seem to be a perfect illustration of the 'κάπηλος' policy adopted by the new king. And yet, these phenomena are inexplicable without a longitudinal perspective. The type of institutional household economy found in late sixth-century Fārs – centred on the palace rather than a temple, feeding great numbers of dependent labourers through agents of the crown, and controlling vast stretches of land – can be shown to continue a similar organisation that was in place in the Neo-Elamite kingdom around the middle of the seventh century.[9] Also, the paperwork needed to control the Persepolis economy adopts a language, Achaemenid Elamite, that is an adaptation of (Neo-)Elamite – the long-time preferred language for administrative purposes in southwestern Iran – and that echoes a technical vocabulary found in the so-called Acropole archive from late seventh-century or early sixth-century Susa. Finally, there is a growing case to be made for the economic development of the heartland under the Teispid kings: royal building projects at Taoce, under Cyrus, and at Matannan, under his son Cambyses, should be understood as part of a policy to create economic, administrative and strategic centres and to generate a large-scale state-controlled network.[10] We encounter Matannan and Taoce again in the Fortification tablets, but the structural continuity goes deeper than the mere persistence of important towns: the early Persian kings obviously needed a fine-tuned administrative apparatus to control the (foreign) workforces in Fārs, just as Darius did to control the workforces that still travelled to and worked at Taoce in his days. In other words, the development of royal centres at Taoce and Matannan is by itself an indication for the existence of administrative structures comparable to the ones reflected by the Persepolis Fortification archive. Such evidence adds substance to the intuitive understanding of the Persepolis economy as a complex system that cannot have been created *ex nihilo* by Darius the merchant.

    Cf. Ael. VH XII.43 (Darius as φαρετροφόρος, "quiver-bearer"). Bruno Jacobs, this volume, while arguing that Cyrus may have been an Achaemenid after all, stresses that he and Darius were quite distant relatives and that there must have been many others with equal rights. Regardless of the family relation, I agree with Jacobs that Darius' evident membership of the leading stratum of Persian society calls for a more sophisticated approach to his 'usurpation.' On the meaning and use of *xšāyaθiya-* at Bīsotūn see Kellens 2002: 434–46.

 8 Cf. Briant 2002: 62–96, 889–95.

 9 Stolper 1978, followed by Henkelman 2008b: 17–9.

10 See Henkelman & Kleber 2007: 169–70; Henkelman 2008a.

As for the political and dynastic level, it appears that Darius was certainly not pursuing a policy of *damnatio memoriae* vis-à-vis the Teispids. Though it is true that he mentions Cyrus and Cambyses only in the context of the Gaumāta story in his Bīsotūn inscription and does not refer to his predecessors again in any other inscription, this negative evidence is far outweighed by other documentation, again from the Fortification archive.

Perhaps most telling is the dossier on funerary sacrifices. The tablets attest to such sacrifices regularly performed for Kanbuziya (Cambyses) and Upanduš (presumably Phaedyme/-ie), undoubtedly upon king Darius' orders.[11] Responsible for the rites were *lipte kutip*, "chamberlains," i.e. individuals with a court title. Though the dossier is small, it reveals that arrangements had been made to ensure the regularity and continuity of the sacrifices.

Furthermore, there is the case of Matannan, where, as we saw, Cambyses had a palace built. During the reign of Darius it was the king's wife, Irtaštuna (Artystone), the (half-) sister of Cambyses, who acted as prime estate holder at Matannan. This appears from two letter-orders by Irtaštuna (NN 0761, NN 0958), which are concerned with the management of her *ulhi* ("house, domain") at Matannan, and from a number of related texts in the Fortification archive. The evidence from the reign of Cambyses is a Babylonian text (YOS 7, 187) from the king's seventh (or sixth) year documenting the recruitment of personnel from Uruk's Eanna temple for construction of a palace (*ekallu*) at Matnānu (Matannan).[12] If, as seems very likely, Cambyses' palace at Matnānu was part of the estate later held by Irtaštuna at Matannan, the following scenario could be suggested: After the death of Cambyses and Bardiya, Darius appropriated all the estates of his predecessor(s) and granted some of these to his relatives and closest supporters. That Cambyses' and Bardiya's (half-) sister Irtaštuna became the estate-holder at Matannan was not a coincidence: she was chosen precisely because she was a senior member of the Teispid family, who moreover no longer posed a threat of Teispid political aspirations since she had become Darius' wife. After the king and Irdabama, Irtaštuna is the economically most powerful individual attested in the Fortification tablets. She had several estates and a sizeable labour force at her disposal, and she presided over her own 'table', i.e. her own court in the economic and administrative sense.[13] Most interesting in this respect is that her son Iršama (Arsames), is regularly mentioned together with Irtaštuna. As a young man, Iršama was still part of his mother's household, hence the receipts for commodities issued "before Irtaštuna and Iršama" (i.e. at the Table/court of Irtaštuna and Iršama). On the other hand, Iršama was starting to act as leading representative of the Teispid branch of the royal family as appears from his interference in the allocation of barley to his cousin Uparmiya (Parmys, daughter of Bardiya). All this suggests that the remaining Teispids acted as a group and were recognised as such. They do not appear to have been restricted in their rights, but were freely and

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11 The technical term used is *šumar*, explained by Henkelman 2003a as "tomb" or "burial mound." Apart from Kanbuziya and Upanduš, the word also occurs in connection with Mišdašba (Hystaspes) and Zišunduš (otherwise unknown). See also Tuplin 2008: 322–4 and Henkelman 2008b: 287–9, 419, 546–7.

12 See discussion and references in Henkelman & Kleber 2007: 163–9.

13 See discussion in Henkelman 2010: 689–703.

actively participating in the heartland economy. Matannan is the only estate of which the history can be traced to the time before Darius, but its status may not be exceptional.

A third case is use of the seal of "Kuraš of Anzan, son of Šešbeš" (not necessarily the grandfather of Cyrus the Great – see below) by a high official at Darius' itinerant court who was responsible for an important segment of the court's proper administration, and who sealed all transactions dealing with livestock. One commentator has recently argued that use of the seal in this 'humble' context is a sign of contempt for the line of Cyrus,[14] but that perspective misses the principal point. Knowing the importance of seals and sealed images in Achaemenid administration, the high profile of its user, and the wide exposure the seal image would get in all local administrative systems (at Susa, Ecbatana, Babylon, Persepolis, etc.) that communicated with the royal household, one cannot but conclude that the seal of Kuraš of Anzan was a treasured heirloom at Darius' court, that its use in the royal household was not a coincidence, and that the wilful proliferation of its image underlines a readiness to state continuity with the preceding dynasty.[15] In addition, it has recently been argued that the use, by members of the royal family (and their direct agents) of seals that are either conspicuous heirlooms or masterpieces executed in a distinct Assyrianising style, was a deliberate choice and a way to express the holders' exceptional status.[16] The re-use of the Neo-Elamite heirloom seal of Kuraš of Anzan within the inner court administration fits this pattern seamlessly and underlines the prestige the Teispid past enjoyed during the reign of the first Achaemenid.

Such explicit continuities notwithstanding, there has been, in recent years, a renewed tendency to differentiate sharply between Darius and Cyrus. Statements from and about both rulers are taken to indicate a different cultural environment and a different royal ideology that, in turn, are taken to reflect different, if not radically different, historical settings. What I am referring to is the vexed issue of Persian identity and ethnicity. While I believe that much new ground has been covered in this debate, and many refreshingly new perspectives have been proposed, I do feel uneasy about the apparent tendency to portray Cyrus and his dynasty as more 'Elamite' in comparison to the more 'Persian' Darius. Though I have contributed my share to a model that describes the rise of Persia, Persians and Persian culture in the context of Elam, Elamites and Elamite culture, I do not think that the contrast

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14 Vallat 2011: 277, following Amiet 1973: 15. Vallat's argument is construed in support of his hypothesis that not Darius, but Cyrus should be considered an usurper. This thesis, defended in a series of publications (Vallat 1997, 2010, 2011), rests on 1) an adventurous re-interpretation of the Bīsotūn inscriptions (DBa$_e$ and DB$_e$ IV; see Henkelman 2008b: 187 note 393, 190), 2) the unwarranted interpretation of the simultaneous occurrence of Anšan and Parsu in the Nabonidus Chronicle (cf. note 63 below) as an admission of a *coup d'état* by Cyrus (supposedly dethroning the legitimate king of Pārsa, Arsames), 3) the misunderstanding of *maṭû*, "small, humble" in l.3 of the Cyrus Cylinder as referring to Cyrus himself (as member of an assumed cadet branch of the Achaemenid dynasty), rather than Nabonidus (as follows from the context), and 4) the unsupported assumption of Cyrus' devotion to Mithra (once again turning Darius' rise to power into a religious revolution; cf. note 5 above).

15 Cf. Henkelman 2008b: 55–6 note 135.

16 Garrison [forthcoming 1] §4.2 and idem [forthcoming 2]. As Garrison points out, the heirloom and Assyrianising seals may be contrasted with royal-name seals, executed in a different style (mostly the Court Style) and expressing a different status: that of high-ranking officials without direct blood ties to the royal house. Such seals seem to mark a formalisation of the bonds of loyalty and favour between the king and his non-royal administrators.

between the two rulers, as I just formulated it, is warranted. As I hope to demonstrate, one should beware of simplifying the new perspective by embracing again, albeit implicitly, the Herodotean Cyrus/Darius dichotomy and translating a perceived contrast between two personalities into a political and cultural view that is new only in appearance.[17]

2. The genesis of the 'Persians'

2.1. Elamites and Iranians

In discussions about Persian ethnogenesis, there is a growing consensus that the Indo-Iranian 'immigrants' did not march into southwestern Iran with a fully-formed culture from which, in linear development, the Achaemenid empire emerged.[18] Instead of this reductive model of – as Walther Hinz put it – a 'Landnahme' in cultural and even in ethnic (biological) terms, more recent scholarship has repeatedly stressed the local, pre-existing Iranian context as a crucial formative factor.[19]

Also in recent years, the Elamite state in lowland Khūzestān (rather than 'Media') appears with increasing clarity as the logical precursor of Persia in terms of statehood (in the broadest sense).[20] There are now good arguments to believe that this state lasted at least until 540/39, and perhaps until 520 BC, which obviously increases its relevance to the debate.

In addition, the persistence of Elamite sedentary culture in the Zagros foothills between Khūzestān and Fārs, at sites such as Tappeh Bormī (ancient Huhnur), throughout the Middle and Neo-Elamite periods, means that the inhabitants of the highlands had an immediate access to Elamite (urban) culture.[21]

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17 Though Bruno Jacobs (this volume) approaches the issue from a different perspective, we arrive at the same conclusion: that Cyrus and Darius were both 'Persian,' and that one should beware of chasing ill-argued (cultural, religious) breaks at the risk of losing track of the evident continuities.

18 Hinz estimates that 10,000 or 20,000 Persians, led by Achaemenes, set out for Fārs, "wahrscheinlich im Frühjahr 701" (1976: 49). Having arrived at their new home, it was time for "die persische Landnahme" and the occupation of Anšan (ibid. 51), all this in disturbing analogy to "das Eindringen des Deutschritter-Ordens nach Preußen zwei Jahrtausende später" (ibid.).

19 Grundlegend: Miroschedji 1985 and 1990. Compare the studies of Briant 1984, Carter 1994, Sumner 1994, Overlaet 1997 (responding in part to Sumner 1994), Stronach 1997a, Boucharlat 1998, Rollinger 1999, Potts 1999: 259–308, Young 2003, Boucharlat 2003, Potts et al. 2006: 10–2, and the attempt at a critical synthesis in Henkelman 2008b: 1–63 (see also idem 2003b).

20 Liverani writes in this context "Persia is heir of Elam, not of Media. Elam had a long tradition in statehood, in centralized administration, in written records kept in formal archives. Elam had also a long tradition as a centre of large coalitions of peoples and states on the Iranian plateau, as centre of a network of relationships with the surrounding areas, not only with Susiana […] but also with regions in central, northern, and eastern Iran" (2003: 10). Elsewhere, I have tried to substantiate this view and to define the 'state of Elam' as the early Persians would have seen it (2008b: 10–40). See also Henkelman [forthcoming 4].

21 Bormī, Tall-e Ġazīr, and other sites in the Rām Hormoz plain: Carter 1994: 67–74, Wright & Carter 2003. Identification of Bormī as Huhnur: Mofidi Nasrabadi 2005 (cf. Henkelman 2007, Potts 2008: 293). A few Neo-Elamite/Achaemenid sites have been reported in the 'Eastern Corridor' survey conducted by Moghaddam & Miri in the piedmonts between Šūštar and the Rām Hormoz plain (2007: 38–45).
Note also the two late Neo-Elamite bathtub coffins discovered in 2007 at Ǧūbaǧī near Rām Hormoz; both included extraordinarily rich funerary deposits. An inscription on a gold object (a 'ring' with

Most critical to the ongoing discussion is the observation that the highlands themselves were probably not empty at the entry of the Indo-Iranian migrants, but still the home of an Elamite population, be it (agro-)pastoralist and semi-nomadic, be it sedentary, agriculturalist, living in smaller towns. In fact, the presumed emptiness of the highlands during the later Middle Elamite and subsequent Neo-Elamite periods appears to be at least partially based on the dearth of excavations in the pertinent areas, and perhaps also on the difficulty of recognising Neo-Elamite wares in surveys. The presumed hiatus between the end of Iron III and the beginning of Iron IV is founded neither on well-dated pottery sequences nor on archaeological investigations at a sufficient number of sites. And though the notion of emptiness is contradicted by Neo-Elamite reliefs (or additions to existing reliefs) at the open-air sanctuaries of Šekaft-e Salmān, Kūl-e Farah, Naqš-e Rustam, and, perhaps, Kūrāngūn, it has long been held that the assumed abandonment of the important town of Tall-e Malyān (ancient Anšan) around 1100/1000 BC was indicative for the region as a whole.

Recent pollen analysis on a core drawn from Lake Mahārlū near Šīrāz suggests a turn to more arid climatic conditions at the beginning of the first millennium, followed by, or coin-ciding with, a period of intensified grazing.[22] If correct, this would give new fuel to the theory that the inhabitants of the highlands did not simply disappear but increasingly had recourse to other, more dominantly pastoralist modes of subsistence. It could thus explain the decrease in size and number of sites in comparison with the early and middle second millennium. One should beware of over-stressing this perspective, however: certainly not all sites were deserted. An early indication to this effect came from the excavations at Tall-e Darvāza, which showed continuous settlement from c. 1800–800 BC.[23] More recently, a first stage of (limited) excavations carried out at Tol-e Nūrābād suggested a continuous occupation from the Middle and Neo-Elamite through the Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid periods. The survey carried out by the same Australo-Iranian team in two valleys of the Mamasamī region tentatively identified eleven settlements (including Tol-e Spīd) with occupation during the Neo-Elamite period, four to six of which may have continued to be settled in the Achaemenid period.[24]

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flaring disk-shaped finials, hence of the type known from Arğān and Susa [cf. Álvarez-Mon 2010, 2011]) reads "Šutur-Nahhunte son of Indada" (DIŠšu-tur-ANUTU DUMU in-da-da-na). The same Šutur-Nahhunte son of Indada is mentioned by Hanni, ruler of Ayapir, as his overlord (EKI 75:10). Interes-tingly, in addition to the Neo-Elamite burials, the find of a large number of darics and other Achaemenid objects has also been reported, but not yet confirmed, at Ğūbağī.

22 Djamali et al. 2009, especially 130–1, where the changes are related to "severe climatic events" in combination with "intense anthropogenic activities," i.e. "overgrazing of the available *Pistacia–Amygdalus* scrub in the Maharlou region." Cf. McCall 2009: 44, 239, 243. Needless to say, the important results reached by Djamali et al. have to be weighed against the fact that only one core was studied; the authors announce more extensive sampling in the near future.

23 McCown's (limited) excavations at Tall-e Ğazīr (1948/49) unfortunately have never been published, but from Carter's analysis of the excavation notes and the remaining finds it appears that materials from the Neo-Elamite I and II periods were found (Carter 1994: 68–72).

24 Destruction date of Middle Elamite Tall-e Malyān: Carter 1996: 16; allowing for the possibility that re-occupation lasted until 900/800 BC: o.c. 51 (also in idem 1994: 66; cf. Sumner 1988: 311). Otherwise unattested late Middle Elamite kings at Anšan: Stolper [forthcoming]. Note that only a limited portion of the extensive site has been excavated, leaving open the possibility that a Neo-Elamite I–II settlement

   Given the above framework, one cannot but conclude that the (Indo-)Iranians, who are
assumed to have emerged on the plateau sometime between 1,500 and 1,000 BC, must have
been exposed to Elamite culture for some 500 to 1,000 years prior to the rise of the
Achaemenid Empire. Under such circumstances, it is unthinkable that large-scale accultu-
ration and integration would *not* have taken place. In fact, there is every reason to agree
with Pierre de Miroschedji that Persian ethnogenesis, i.e. the rise of a Persian identity and
culture, should be seen in the first place as the *result* of this far-reaching cross-cultural
dynamism. This does not amount to denying or ignoring the evident Indo-Iranian heritage,
nor does it intend to obscure the distinctive features of Persian identity and culture. But
what the historical and archaeological evidence do forcefully suggest is adaptation, trans-
formation and, above all, that *Persian* culture is Iran-made.

2.2. Elamites and Persians

The above model predicts visible Elamite influences in Persian culture, but it also implies
that such influences were not necessarily still perceived to be 'Elamite' when the Persians
entered the stage of history.

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   could have existed at Malyān (so Potts 2005: 21).
   A brick inscription by Huteluduš-Inšušinak was recently found at Tol-e Afḡānī, suggesting late Middle-
   Elamite occupation of this important site in the Bakhtīārī mountains and thereby a proliferation of
   Elamite culture further northwards in the highlands than had previously been assumed (Potts 2005: 9–
   10; Petrie 2005); cf. the Šilhak-Inšušinak I stele reportedly found even further to the north, at Sūleqān
   near Šahr-e Kord.
   Tall-e Darvāza: L.K. Jacobs 1996; see also Nicol 1971 (considering an end date as low as 650 BC) and
   the remarks by McCall 2009: 165.
   Tol-e Nūrābād: Weeks et al. 2006: 38–9, 58–62, 77–8 (note especially phase B6, with a mixed
   assemblage of Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid wares); Petrie et al. 2006b: 180–2. The situation at Tol-e
   Spīd is less clear: two artificial layers of fill occur between TS Phase 15 (mid-second millennium) and
   12 (Achaemenid); the latest ceramics contained in the lower layer (Phase 14) are Middle Elamite. At
   this point occupation during the Neo-Elamite period is not unequivocally attested, although Neo-
   Elamite ceramics have been found on the surface of the site and some Neo-Elamite ceramics appear in
   Phases 13 and 12 (see Petrie et al. 2006a: 96–7, 110–4, 125, 127–8, 131–2, Zeidi et al. 2006: 167, Petrie
   et al. 2006b: 180–2, McCall 2009: 200–1). As the excavators remark, more elaborate excavations are
   necessary to settle the question.
   Mamasanī survey: Zeidi et al. 2006, McCall 2009: 55, 176–203, 234–43, 250–63, idem [forthcoming]
   (the number of sites here cited are based on the last two publications). As McCall points out, some of
   the ceramic assemblages found clearly "bridge the Neo-Elamite to Achaemenid periods" (2009: 188–9
   [on MS 22], 203, 248). MS 24 (Tappeh Dozak) should be singled out as a notable Neo-Elamite site,
   possibly an "Elamite administrative outpost" (ibid. 209). Another recent survey, in the Būšehr
   hinterland, did not attempt a systematic classification of Middle and Neo-Elamite wares (R.A. Carter et
   al. 2006: 65 figs. 4–5, 73–4, 89–96). Despite this, the fact that of 10 possible 'Elamite' sites, six also
   produced Achaemenid/post-Achaemenid wares is quite revealing and comparable to the results of the
   Mamasanī survey. Alizadeh's 1995 survey in the area northwest of the Marvdašt reported 20 sites with a
   distinct grey ware tentatively associated with Iron III (Alizadeh 2003: 88; but see Boucharlat 2005:
   226); no details have been published as yet.
   See also Overlaet 1997 (Tall-e Taymūrān, allowing for a date as low as 700 BC for Šoḡā and Taymūrān
   wares); Haerinck & Overlaet 2003 (Tall-e Qalʿeh); Azarnoush & Helwing 2005: 215 (Qalʿeh Gelī
   Tappeh near Lordegān), 226 (Tappeh Sīalk). For a recent, general outlook on the problem of Iron III–IV
   pottery sequences in Fārs see Boucharlat 2003, idem 2005: 226–8 (with bibliography).

Indeed we find that Cyrus' name (Kuraš) is plausibly of Elamite origin ("[DN] bestowed care," "[DN] protected," "[DN] gave fortune," vel sim.), that the famous winged genius at Pasargadae wears an Elamite royal robe and that Darius' statue from Susa depicts the king wearing a ceremonial dagger of a type known from Elamite contexts. Darius also commissioned the Bīsotūn inscription to be carved in Elamite (Akkadian and Old Persian versions were added at a later stage); the main language of the heartland administration during his reign was Elamite.[25] Significantly, the Persian word for "inscription" was *dipi-*, a loan from Elamite *tuppi*(-*me*).[26]

Conversely, mixed Elamite-Iranian cultural assemblages from the later Neo-Elamite period have emerged in recent decades in the form of the Arğān tomb and the Kalmākarra hoard. The mixed Elamite-Iranian onomasticon of the Acropole archive from Neo-Elamite Susa has already been known for some time.[27]

As for the perception of 'Elamiteness,' the Persepolis Fortification Archive again yields some important insights. First, the archive mentions no less than 26 ethnicities (some of them partially overlapping), but it never refers to inhabitants of the highlands as 'Elamites' (*haltamtip*; the ethnonym is reserved for the satrapy of Elam).[28] It is clear that 'we' means 'we the Persians' in the archive, even though about 10% of the onomasticon is Elamite, Elamite month names are sometimes used instead of the Old Persian ones, some writers write in a relatively pure Elamite (and with a hand that is close to Neo-Elamite administrative documents; cf. §2.3 below), and, most conspicuously, gods with an Elamite background are worshipped. The cult of those gods, like the cult of gods with an (Indo-) Iranian background, was state-sponsored and therefore documented in the archive. From the terse contextual information given in the tablets, it can be deduced that there were no separate Elamite and (Indo-)Iranian religious spheres, that officiants with Iranian names could tend the cult of Elamite gods and *vice versa* (or both), that Elamite and Iranian religious terminology applied to gods of either side, and that there was no predilection for gods with an (Indo-)Iranian background. At the same time, the officially endorsed pantheon seems to have been exclusive in the sense that it does not include gods that did not belong to the

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25 Name of Cyrus: Andreas 1904: 93–4 (see also Rollinger 1998a: 170–1), Stronach 1997a: 38 (following Zadok 1991: 237 and idem 1995: 246), Henkelman 2003b: 194–6, Tavernier 2007a: 528–30 [5.5.1.34], idem 2011: 211–2;; Schmitt 1993 pleads for an Iranian etymology (see Henkelman and Tavernier ll.cc. for further references). See also Tavernier 2007a: 519 [5.4.2.55] on Šešbeš (suggesting a tentative Elamite etymology). Elamite court robe (cf. note 63 below): Henkelman 2003b: 192–3 (citing earlier bibliography), Álvarez-Mon 2009, Potts 2010: 117, Root 2011: 426–33.. Dagger: Calmeyer 1988: 32–3, Potts 1999: 342–5.

26 See Tavernier 2007b: 57, with bibliography.

27 On the Arğān tomb see the recent monograph by Álvarez-Mon (2010),, with exhaustive bibliography; cf. Henkelman 2008b: 30–1. Álvarez-Mon dates the tomb inventory to 600–575 BC and defines it as a crossroads of Elamite and Persian culture, while also pointing out that Arğān is an important indicator for the channelling and adaptation of Assyrian artistic traditions by Elamite artists. Kalmākarra: Henkelman 2003b: 214–27 and 2008: 28–30. The newly discovered tombs from Ǧūbaǧī near Rām Hormoz may prove to be of equal importance for understanding late Neo-Elamite culture (cf. note 21 above). Onomasticon of the Acropole archive and other Neo-Elamite texts (including the Kalmākarra corpus): Tavernier 2011.

28 See Henkelman & Stolper 2009 on the matter of ethnic labelling in the Fortification tablets and Henkelman 2008b: 343–350 on the absence of 'Elamites' in the archive and its implications.

Persian heartland. This is remarkable since a) Persepolis was a multi-ethnic centre hosting individuals and workforces from many nations, b) some groups such as the Babylonians had a long-standing presence in Iran and are known to have brought their own gods,[29] and c) the Achaemenids practised religious pragmatism. That these circumstances did *not* lead to state-sponsorship of, say, Babylonian gods, whereas gods of Elamite origin were being treated on an equal level with their (Indo-)Iranian colleagues can only mean that the 'Elamite' deities were not seen as foreign: they were *Persian* in the same sense that people born and living in the highlands, even if they had an Elamite ancestry, were not considered to be Elamite, but Persian. Such circumstances attest both to the success and the inclusiveness of the label 'Persian.'

2.3. The status and genesis of Achaemenid Elamite

Whereas the acculturation of Elamites and Iranians, and the Elamite contribution to Persian culture have received increasing attention in recent years, a third avenue of research moves into virtually unchartered territory. The subject here referred to is that of the status of Achaemenid Elamite, i.e. a kind of Elamite found in two distinct registers: that of Bīsotūn and other royal inscriptions, and that of the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury archives. Especially the Fortification texts are of tremendous importance with regard to the nature and possible genesis of this language, given the wealth of linguistic material they provide.

Traditionally, the use of Elamite in the Achaemenid empire has been explained from the simplistic notion – assumed explicitly or implicitly – that the Persians (defined exclusively as Indo-Iranians) put the subject Elamites to a task they themselves could not, and wished not to, perform: crafting inscriptions to immortalise the words of their kings, and drafting the paperwork necessary to keep their economic institutions running. This view of illiterate Persian masters and literate Elamite servants has notably been advocated by Walther Hinz and Ilya Gershevitch. I believe that their – often quite convoluted – theories are unconvincing when examined in the light of the inscriptions and the administrative documents, but I will reserve my comments for the appendix to this article. Here, I present a brief and preliminary outline of an alternative approach.

As stated above (§2.2), a minority of the scribes of the Fortification tablets wrote in a hand that resembles that of late Neo-Elamite administrative texts. They used Elamite rather than Old Persian month names, used Elamite words where other scribes would use a loan from Old Persian, and applied original Elamite constructions otherwise rarely attested in the same archive. At least some of these scribes can be associated with the so-called Fahliyān region, the westernmost sector under purview of the Persepolis administration. It seems likely that their native tongue was Elamite, or at least that they lived in a cultural environment that allowed for a relatively fluent command of Elamite. The existence of such scribes is not what matters here: it is their rarity. In contrast to their Fahliyān colleagues, the great majority of Fortification scribes seem – in terms of linguistic dominance – to have been Iranophone.[30] These Iranophone scribes roughly come in two sub-categories. Most wrote in

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29 Gods worshipped by Babylonians and other expatriate communities in Iran: Henkelman 2008b: 337–42 (additional remark on oath formulae in Henkelman & Stolper 2009: 276 note 14).

30 Cf. D. Lewis 1994: 28, who concludes from the existence of scribes writing in a more 'pure' Elamite that, in contrast to what Gershevitch thought, we may be dealing "with Persian scribes writing Elamite."

a morphosyntactically restructured form of Elamite in which a good deal of variation exists, but that nevertheless can be qualified as a more or less stable system. A much smaller group use a form of Elamite that betrays more severe imposition from Old Iranian, including fatal errors against the inherited morphology and syntax; this variety is characterised by individual, *ad hoc* solutions.

It has already been mentioned that most of the scribes mentioned in the Fortification tablets have Iranian names: of 52 legible names at least 43 are Iranian (82.7%), four are clearly Elamite (7.7%), and five are of uncertain, but possibly Elamite origin (9.6%).[31] As such, the proportion of Elamite names within the scribal onomasticon does not differ significantly from that in the overall onomasticon of the archive, in which Elamite names take up 10 to 15%.[32] Though onomastics are a notoriously unreliable indicator for cultural phenomena, it would seem that the ratio of Elamite and Iranian names agrees with the view that only a smaller part of the scribes were Elamophone.

As I have argued elsewhere, the scribes of the Elamite texts were most likely seen as 'Persian' by the administration.[33] They were distinguished from the Aramaic scribes, the *tuppip bapilip* KUŠ[MEŠ] *ukku*, "Babylonian scribes [writing] on leather," also referred to as "scribes [writing] on leather." Similarly, cuneiform scribes are regularly referred to without indication of their ethnicity (which was taken for granted). Only in a few cases is it spelled out, presumably to distinguish them as cuneiform scribes and hence to contrast them with the Aramaic scribes. In such cases, the label used is not 'Elamite,' but 'Persian.' The four relevant texts all pertain to the same group of 16+13 individuals called *puhu parsibbe tuppime-sapimanba*, "Persian servants, tablet-copyists."[34] Hinz noted with evident surprise that for the "Angehörige des Herrschervolkes" (!) writing must have been an unusual activity, and tried to save the conquering race by suggesting that the formula referred to apprentices learning Old Persian.[35] Yet, just as the 'Babylonian' scribes were not writing in

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Compare, similarly, Stolper & Tavernier 2007: 19, who add that "linguistic segregation of Persians from Elamites and others was not a possibility, least of all among the literate." See also Altheim 1951: 189 ("das Elamische war Verwaltungssprache der Persis"), Delaunay 1976: 21 and Stolper 2005: 20 ("Elamite was how Iranians communicated in writing").

31 Cf. Henkelman 2008b: 349 note 349 (with references to Tavernier 2007a and Zadok 1984 for the Old Iranian and Elamite onomastica); Tavernier 2008: 68 combines the evidence from the Fortification and Treasury archives and counts 53 Iranian names among the 62 scribes found in the two corpora. As scribes I count individuals who occur in the *talliš(da)* ("[PN] wrote") formula in colophons; these are the scribes that wrote in Elamite. The sample excludes scribes responsible for orders and other documents written in Aramaic; these scribes, whose names are either Iranian or Babylonian/West Semitic, form a different group, apparently not involved in writing Elamite. On the use of Aramaic at Persepolis and the colophons in some Elamite documents see Tavernier 2008 and Henkelman 2008b: 89–93, 147–53.

32 Mayrhofer 1973: 304, 310 estimated that "mehr als ein Zehntel" of the Persepolis onomasticon is Elamite; as he himself admits, this figure must be on the low side, given the high number of names of uncertain origin.

33 Henkelman 2008b: 348–50; Henkelman & Stolper 2009: 275–8.

34 PF 0871, PF 1137, NN 1485, NN 1588. Given the personal determinative HAL preceding *tuppime* in all four texts, *tuppime-sapimanba* ([HAL]*tup-pi-me-sa-pi-man-ba*; *-sa-pi<-man>-ba* in NN 1485) should be considered a compound noun or noun phrase. The common translation "who are copying tablets" is therefore less precise than "tablet-copyists."

35 Hinz in Hinz & Weber 1972: 292; idem 1973: 22–3. That the copyist *puhu* were apprentices, as

Babylonian, the 'Persian' *puhu* did not necessarily write in Old Persian. Moreover, if the language (and script) were referred to, the correct term would have been *harriya*, "Aryan" (DB$_e$ IV.3), not **parsiya* (vel sim.).[36] Given the circumstance that Elamite is the only language regularly used for the writing of cuneiform texts (*tuppi*) in the archive, our *puhu parsip* were writing Elamite. I doubt that they were much different from the average cuneiform scribe in the archive; rather, the bureaucratic context differed and demanded a more explicit description. Thus, whereas the label 'Elamite' is not used as description for any inhabitants of Pārsa (cf. §2.2 above), cuneiform scribes writing in Elamite were apparently seen as 'Persian.'[37]

This, in combination with the observation that the language bears the marks of interference from Old Iranian, brings me back to the status of Achaemenid Elamite. Erica Reiner already commented on the restructuring of later Elamite, though she did not attempt to reconstruct the direction of interference (i.e. borrowing vs. imposition; cf. below). More recently, Ilya Yakubovich and myself have been arguing for the view that the peculiarities of Achaemenid Elamite reflect the use by Iranophones. Achaemenid Elamite should thus, in Yakubovich' words, be described as "a late and contact-induced variety of the Elamite language" showing a "partial restructuring of the grammatical system that enhanced structural isomorphism" in a bilingual situation.[38]

An example may serve to illustrate the point made here. The Achaemenid Elamite postposition *-ikkimar* (*ik-ki-mar*, *ik-ka$_4$-mar*, *ik-mar*) is not attested in earlier Elamite, but it is built on the older postposition *-ikki* (indicating direction).[39] It primarily indicates spatial separation (with animate referents), or agentivity (in passive constructions). The first use may be illustrated by *hu-pi-be* ^{DIŠ}*ú-ik-ki-mar be-ip-ti-ip*, "those [troops] rebelled from me"

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assumed by Hinz (followed by Giovinazzo 1995: 144–7), seems unlikely given their ration scales (45 and 30 qts. barley/month). Elamite *puhu* literally means "boy, child" and it is attested with that meaning in the Fortification texts, especially in lists specifying ration scales for different age classes. In other contexts in the same archive the word regularly means "servant, subordinate," however. When *puhu* appear alone, as in the present case, they are almost invariably performing some specialist task. The 45 qts./month ration may actually imply that these individuals had no other source of income and is hence suggestive of complete dependence. See Henkelman 2003a: 133–6 (especially note 60), idem 2008b: 90, 273–4, 349 note 819, idem [forthcoming 1].

36 Cf. Gershevitch 1979: 144 note 7.

37 Cf. the remarks by D. Lewis 1994: 26–7, commenting on the Iranian names of the majority of the scribes and on the *puhu* copyists: "… the Persian boys at Pittanan may give us substantial reason to think that the conquering race did apply itself to acquiring scribal skills." Incidentally, the scribe named Yaunā, mentioned by Lewis (l.c.), is unlikely to be a Greek; see Rollinger & Henkelman 2009: 340–3.

38 Henkelman 2006b: 53–4, idem 2008b: 87–8 with note 193, Yakubovich 2008: 207. Cf., earlier, Reiner 1960, idem 1969: 103–4.

39 The element *-mar* occurs alone (suffixed to inanimates), or in the combination *-ikkimar* (animates). Its origin remains mysterious. The occasional spellings *-hu-mar* and *-ik-ki-hu-mar* seem to point to a pronunciation /war/ or /var/ (with *hu* as phonetic complement: -^{hu}*mar*, *-ik-ki*-^{hu}*mar*). If so, *-mar* is probably not related to the suffix *-ma* (indicating location, period, or quality). An interesting phenomenon of Achaemenid Elamite is that month names may carry *-mar* (for inanimates) as well as *-ikkimar* (animates), both indicating temporal separation. The *-mar/-ikkimar* variation occurs indiscriminately with Iranian and Elamite month names. Compare PF 1059, PF 1092 PF 1238, PF 1928 (*-ikkimar*), PF 0744, PF 0791, PF 1770 (*-mar*). Forms with *-ikkimar* may indicate perception of the months as animate beings.

(DB$_e$ II.11), closely paralleling the Old Persian version *hau hacāma hamiçiya abava*, "that [army] became rebellious from me" (DB$_p$ II.17). The second use is found in such expressions as *ap-pa* ^{DIŠ}*ú-ik-ka$_4$-mar ap tur-ri-ka$_4$*, "what was said by me to them" (DNa$_e$ 15), which closely resembles *tayašām hacāma aθanhya* (DNa$_p$ 20). Both uses are amply attested in the Fortification archive, which suggests to me that -*ikkimar* does not mechanically transcribe Old Persian constructions, but is embedded and productive in Achaemenid Elamite.[40] -*ikkimar* clearly mimics *hacā*, which similarly marks both spatial separation and agentivity (as the above examples show). As such, its appearance may be considered as structural interference from Old Persian. This interference does not pertain to *hacā*/-*ikkimar* alone, but should best be seen as grammatical calquing or 'metatypy' of an entire construction.[41] In pre-Achaemenid Elamite, the logical agent of a passive form is rarely expressed. If it is, a nominal, possessive construction is used. "What was said by me" may, for example, be conveyed as *tu$_4$-ru-uk ú-me* (EKI 46 III.94). In this phrase, the passive participle [turu.k] is understood as inanimate noun; agreement with the agent pronoun [u] is marked by the inanimate gender suffix [me] (lit. what-is-said me-it).[42] The Achaemenid successor construction is a verbal phrase, hence typologically different and probably construed on the model of Old Iranian.

It is important to stress that the restructuring involved in the introduction of the -*ikkimar* constructions is unlikely to have resulted from borrowing by native speakers of Elamite. Structural borrowing is normally bound to severe constraints. To understand this, a theoretical framework created by F. van Coetsem and adopted by D. Winford may be invoked.[43]

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40 *Pace* Paper 1955: 84. Examples: PN ^{HAL}EŠŠANA-*ik-ka$_4$-mar* GN ⌜*la-ak-ka$_4$*⌝, "PN, sent from the King to Drangiana" (or: "sent by the King to Drangiana," NN 0690); PN *du-um-me* ^{HAL}*na-ni-tin-ik-ka$_4$-mar du-iš-da*, "PN received the (Aramaic) order from Nanitin" (NN 0644 and passim); ŠE.BAR^{MEŠ} PN$_1$-*ik-ka$_4$-mar* PN$_2$ *du-iš-da*, "barley from PN$_1$ PN$_2$ received" (NN 0231); ^{HAL}EŠŠANA-*ik-ka$_4$-mar še-ra-ka$_4$*, "ordered by the King" (Fort. 6764). For more inscriptional examples see Paper 1955: 83–4.

41 On metatypy see Ross 2007, who defines the concept as a step towards isomorphism, having a stronger impact than grammatical calquing sticto sensu: "The term 'metatypy' labels […] the diachronic process whereby the morphosyntactic constructions of one of the languages of a bilingual speech community are restructured on the model of the constructions of the speakers' other language, such that the constructions of the replica language come to more closely match those of the model language in both meaning and morphosyntax" (Ross 2007: 124, refining his earlier definition). In the same study, Ross describes a case comparable to the introduction of -*ikkimar* constructions in Achaemenid Elamite: in the Mixe dialect of Basque (French Lower Navarre) the ablative and partitive case markers have become conflated under influence of Gascon/French 'de' (ibid. 125). Also striking is that Mixe, in opposition to other Basque dialects, has developed a passive matching the Gascon/French passive, thus transforming the inherited resultative, which is stative in aspect (ibid. 126–7). Note, however, that Ross sees metatypy as a phenomenon related to recipient language agentivity (i.e. resulting from borrowing, not imposition; cf. below), although he considers the converse as also possible (ibid. 130).

42 Cf. EKI 54 I.71–2, *tu$_4$-ru-uk ni-ka-me*, "what was said by us" (Germ. "das von uns Gesagte"). For a Neo-Elamite example see EKI 76:9, *tu$_4$-ru-uk ú-me*. For more cases see EW s.vv. *tu$_4$-ru-uk, ku-ši-ik-e, ku-ši-ik-ú-be, ku-ul-la-ak, hu-ut-tak*. On Achaemenid Elamite passive formations see also Tucker 1998: 168–76, discussing further divergences from older Elamite.

43 Van Coetsem 2000, Winford 2005, and idem 2007. Winford's handbook on contact linguistics (2003) was written before its author fully embraced Van Coetsem's model. This model strikes a refreshingly neutral and comprehensive approach in a field (contact linguistics) where various models of more limited scope, such as the pidgin-creole continuum, bilingual mixed languages, code-switching and language shift, compete and often are defined as mutually exclusive. The need for a neutral conceptual

Van Coetsem starts out by proposing 'transfer' as a neutral term for all types of interference between languages that are in contact.[44] To this, two crucial principles are added. First, transfer exists in two varieties, borrowing and imposition (also 'pull transfer' and 'push transfer'). Both of these processes run in the same direction, from the source language and the recipient language. The difference lies, in the first place, in the position of the speaker. Borrowing occurs under what Van Coetsem calls 'recipient language agentivity,' whereas imposition is a feature of 'source language agentivity.'[45] The kind of agentivity involved is determined by a second principle, that of linguistic dominance. This principle is not the same as cultural, social or political dominance, but simply denotes the language in which a speaker is more proficient.[46] If the agent of transfer is a speaker of A and lives in a contact situation with speakers of B, he may import lexical elements from B into A. This is called borrowing under recipient language agentivity. If, on the other hand, the speaker of C acquires D as a second language, he may export structural features of C to his version of D. This is called imposition under source language agentivity. In these examples the linguistic dominance lies with the recipient language (A) and the source language (C) respectively.

The distinction between borrowing and imposition may be further clarified by what Van Coetsem calls the 'stability gradient' of a language. As Winford explains, "certain components of a language, such as phonology, morphology and syntax, tend to be more stable and hence resistant to change, while others, such as vocabulary, are less stable and thus more amenable to change."[47] This means that borrowing tends to be restricted to the lexicon, having little effect on the morphosyntactic structure of the recipient language, i.e. the language of the speaker's linguistic dominance. Imposition, by contrast, occurs when the

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basis was one of the main reasons that prompted Van Coetsem to develop his theory (Van Coetsem 2000: 33–44, Winford 2007: 22). As for the phenomena observable in Achaemenid Elamite, the models of pidginisation, semi-creoles and bilingual mixed languages do not seem to apply, especially not if one adopts the more restrictive definitions of these models. The same is true for koineisation, which is restricted to two or more languages of the same genetic type (hence not applicable to Elamite and Old Iranian).

44 Van Coetsem 2000: 33–7, 51; cf. Winford 2005: 364, idem 2007: 25–6.

45 Van Coetsem 2000: 51–5, 67–82, 270–1, and passim; Winford 2005: 376–7, idem 2007: 26. The division between borrowing and imposition replaces older oppositions such as borrowing vs. interference, borrowing vs. transfer, borrowing vs. shift, and maintenance vs. shift. Van Coetsem defines a third contact type, 'neutralisation,' as the action or state in which the difference between imposition and borrowing is cancelled (2000: 43, 82–99); this phenomenon, which occurs among (near-) symmetrical bilinguals, does not seem relevant for the present discussion.

46 Thus, linguistic dominance may in certain cases lie with a language spoken by a culturally or socially more dominant group. A group of migrants acquiring the language of their host country (B) may impose structural features of their native language (A) on their version of the local language. In this example, social dominance lies with the recipient language (B), whereas linguistic dominance lies with the source language (A). See Van Coetsem 2000: 42, 229–33; Winford 2005: 377, idem 2007: 26, 32.

47 Van Coetsem 2000: 58–62, 105–34; Winford 2005: 377, idem 2007: 26 (for the above citation). Van Coetsem assumes internal subdivisions in stability. Thus, within the vocabulary, one can define a group of words referring to basic needs of life or other essential phenomena, which tend to be more stable than other content words. Winford (2003: 51) cites Muysken's "hierarchy of borrowability," with descending likelihood of borrowing under recipient language agentivity: nouns, adjectives, verbs, prepositions, co-ordinating conjunctions, quantifiers, determiners, free pronouns, clitic pronouns, subordinating constructions. In Achaemenid Elamite, restructuring on the basis of Iranian types has affected prepositions, but also determiners, pronouns and subordinating constructions.

speaker activates the structural features of his dominant language (source language) in acquiring a second language (recipient language) and in doing so transfers some of these features to his version of the recipient language. This second scenario may result in large-scale restructuring. Types of imposition range from individual second language acquisition to creole formation. Typical of imposition is the adaptation of material found in the recipient language according to patterns transferred from the source language.[48]

Whereas loanwords and lexical calques may sometimes result from imposition rather than borrowing, the reverse – large-scale structural interference – does not normally occur under recipient language agentivity.[49] There are languages, such as Anatolian Greek, where interference has been explained from structural borrowing. Against such claims, it has been proposed that especially for speakers of maintained languages the linguistic dominance may no longer lie with that language, but with the culturally and economically dominant language (i.e. shift in linguistic dominance). In the example cited this means that (some) speakers of Anatolian Greek themselves imposed structural elements from Turkish on their ancestral language, because Turkish had become the language in which they were more proficient. The agentivity thus lies with the source language, which means structural interference through imposition, not through borrowing.[50]

To return to the status of Achaemenid Elamite: the introduction of a construction based on the Old Persian ablative, coupled with a transformation of the passive, is a case of morphological and grammatical restructuring. Though not as extreme as other examples of restructuring through language contact, it constitutes a kind of interference that can hardly be explained if the linguistic dominance of the agents of the transfer lies with the recipient language. Or, in practical terms: Elamophones could be responsible for lexical borrowing from Old Persian, but are not likely to be responsible for morphosyntactic restructuring of Elamite on the model of Old Persian. Rather, the type of transfer behind the introduction of -*ikkimar* constructions occurred though the agentivity of the source language, hence through Iranophones acquiring Elamite as a second language.

The case of -*ikkimar* is not isolated. Other examples that may be mentioned are the use of the relative pronoun as article, as in Old Persian, the augmentation of the pronominal system with pronouns expressing 'there' deixis in analogy to the Old Persian this/that opposition, and the complete restructuring of attributive constructions.[51] There are also cases

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48 Winford 2003: 219–20.

49 Winford 2003: 79–80, idem 2005: 386–7, idem 2007: 28

50 Winford 2005: 383, 402–9; for the opinion that Asia Minor Greek results from heavy structural borrowing see Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 215–22, Thomason 2001: 63–7.

51 In Achaemenid Elamite the relative pronouns *akka* and *appa* are regularly used as article (mimicking the Old Persian relative pronoun and article *haya/hayā/taya*); see Reiner 1960 and Stolper 2004: 76 (also 88 on *appa anka*). In Middle Elamite there are isolated examples of *akka* used in attributive/possessive constructions (Stolper [forthcoming]), but not as article.
Demonstrative pronouns with 'here' deixis occur in older Elamite (*hi, ap, i*), but there is no clear opposition with a series of pronouns with 'there' deixis. *huhbe*, "that" occurs only three times in late Neo-Elamite (cf. EW s.v. *hu-h-be*), but a full series *hupirri, hupibe, hupe* appears to have been introduced only in Achaemenid Elamite (it is strikingly absent from the Acropole archive). The introduction, or at least the much wider use of the here/there opposition in Achaemenid Elamite may be a case of imposition based on the model of *iyam/ava* in Old Persian.

that could point to either borrowing or imposition, but that, in the light of the probable cases of imposition just mentioned, may be explained likewise. An example of this category is the introduction and frequent use of compound agent nouns on *-kutira* (lit. "-bearer"), as an evident calque on Old Persian *-bara*.[52]

Both Van Coetsem and Winford stipulate that source language and recipient language agentivity often occur side by side, even in the speech of one bilingual.[53] Language contact is hardly ever a one-directional process and linguistic dominance may be different for various groups and individuals involved in it. As I have already indicated, a minority of the Fortification scribes may have been Elamophone in the sense that Old Iranian was for them a second language. Logically, such scribes may also introduce contact-induced features in the language. A phenomenon typical for borrowing under recipient language agentivity is the adaptation of loanwords to the morphology of the recipient language. In Achaemenid Elamite, *kurtaš*, a loan from Old Persian **gr̥da-*, is widely used; its final *-š* is a generalised

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In attributive constructions, there are two cases of possible influence. The first entails a reversal of the classical order rectum-regens+suffix (e.g., *bahir sunkipri*, "protector of kings," EKI 48b:4–5) to Achaemenid Elamite regens-rectum+suffix (*mardunuya irtiri*, "Mardonius his wife, the wife of Mardonius," PFa 05). The word order follows that of Old Persian (cf., e.g., *vištāspahyā pitā*, "Hystaspes his father," DBa_p 5–6), but the position of the coordinating suffix at the end of the noun phrase is retained. This construction may result from transfer (so Reiner 1960), though the reversed order is occasionally also found in Middle Elamite (Stolper 2004: 86). At any rate, the use of this first construction is limited to kinship relations, whereas a second attributive construction is ubiquitous in Achaemenid Elamite. It involves the ending *-na*, which is indifferent to gender and number, and therefore presents a sharp diversion from the classic system of expressing agreement in attributive (and other) constructions by classification suffixes distinguishing gender, personal class and number. The *-na* construction has a classical rectum-regens order and is already found in Middle Elamite, but only when the referent (rectum) is inanimate. In such cases, *-na* is clearly still recognised as a development from the inanimate suffix *-n*, hence not indifferent to gender and not alien to the system of agreement by classification suffixes. In Neo-Elamite, *-na* may also mark attribution between animates, which means detachment of the suffix from the classical system of marking agreement. Only in Achaemenid Elamite does *-na* become fully generalised, however. It carries possessive/genitive, adjective/attributive, and even dative function and represents the normal way of expressing attribution. It covers an entire range of attributive relations formerly marked by classification suffixes. Despite its development within the Elamite language, it seems to me that the generalisation of the *-na* construction in Achaemenid Elamite may be seen as a movement towards reduction of the morphosyntactic complexity, hence in line with imposition under source language agentivity. On *-na* see Grillot 1973, Stolper 2004: 74–5, 83, 86–7 and Henkelman 2008b: 87–8 note 193.

52 In Old Persian, *bar-* (like its Indo-European cognates) has a wide array of meanings. In compound agent nouns it often denotes a person responsible for, or assigned to, something, as in *vaçabara-/*vastrabara-*, "garment-bearer, chamberlain," **(h)uvaršabara-*, "quartermaster" (lit. food-carrier), **ganzabara-/*gandabara-*, "treasurer" (lit. treasure-carrier), **vīdabara-*, "bringer of knowledge, advisor" (examples from Tavernier 2007a q.vv.). Whereas the verb *kuti-* in Achaemenid Elamite means "to carry, transport," the agent noun *-kutira* is used less literally. Compare *šukurum-kutira*, "lance-bearer," *lipte-kutira*, "chamberlain" (lit. garment-bearer), GIŠGEŠTINMEŠ-*ku-ti-ra*, "wine-master" (lit. wine-carrier," cf. OPers. **āpr̥nabara-*, lit. "barrel-carrier"), and GIŠ*mi-ik-da-um-ku-ti-ra*, "fruit-master" (hybrid, lit. fruit-carrier). The analogy with the Old Persian compounds is evident, especially since *-kutira* does not appear in agent nouns in older Elamite. Note also the parallel between Achaemenid Elamite compounds on *-huttira*, such as *ba-zí-iš-hu-ut-ti-ra* (hybrid), lit. "tax-maker," and Old Persian compounds on *-kara*, such as **azdakara-*, "herald" (lit. known-maker) or indeed **bājikara-*, "tax maker".

53 Van Coetsem 2000: 55–7, 99–100.

ending for such loans (cf. fn. 127 below). Some scribes add the Elamite plural affix *-p*, giving *kurtašbe*, which, with elision of the vowel in the second unstressed syllable, may turn into *kurzap*. A cursory analysis of all the attestations of *kurzap* and *kurtašbe* shows that most of these can be related to the Fahliyān region, the westernmost area under purview of the administration centred on Persepolis, and also the area where spoken Elamite seems to have been stronger.[54]

The result of the restructuring of Elamite by Iranophones was that the new variety of the language, which we know as Achaemenid Elamite, became more similar to Old Iranian. Restructuring in a situation of bilingualism, where speakers have to switch constantly between two languages, may be seen as a movement towards increased isomorphism. The locus classicus in this regard is the Indian town of Kupwar. Though its linguistic constellation is typologically different, it is of interest for the case of Achaemenid Elamite. In Kupwar all of the four local languages were to varying degrees restructured, to the point that they shared the same syntactic structure, thus facilitating switching between them.[55] A similar result was achieved in Persia, though, as far as we can tell, only one language was significantly restructured.

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54 Out of 74 memoranda and letter-orders with *kurtašbe* or *kurzap*, 26 mention a toponym securely assigned to the Fahliyān region (such as Kurdušum, Hidali, Dašer, Zakzaku, Gisat) and 30 others can be connected to the same region through prosopographic analysis. Of the remaining texts, only 4 can be assigned to the Persepolis region, 1 to the Kāmfīrūz region, 3 to the Northern Cluster, and 2 to the Southern Cluster (for these regions see Henkelman 2008a). Eight texts cannot be securely connected to one of the regions (although the Fahliyān is the most likely option in three of these). This means that of 65 analytically relevant cases of *kurtašbe* and *kurzap*, some 85% pertain to the Fahliyān region. The situation is different for other text types. *kurtašbe* and *kurzap* occur once or several times in 24 journals and 2 accounts, text categories usually assumed to have been drafted at Persepolis. The forms with Elamite plural suffix are probably not simply copied from the memoranda summarised in the journals, since most toponyms in the relevant texts do not point to the Fahliyān. A more likely explanation is that the higher the level of administration, the better the command of Elamite had to be. The auditors drafting journals and accounts do not have to have been native speakers, but their Elamite was probably good enough to apply Elamite nominal morphology to loans from Old Persian. Whereas the application of nominal morphology to loan words is a sign of adaptation, one scribe wrote [HAL]*kur-taš*[MEŠ]*-be* (PF 1191), with MEŠ marking *kurtaš* as a foreign word. Another unique spelling is [HAL]*kur-tam₆-be* in PF 1607 (suffixing the loan with final *-m* instead of final *-s*; cf. note 127 below). Both these cases are included in the above sample. On the phenomenon of "adaptation and imitation in lexical (contentive) borrowing" see Van Coetsem 2000: 69, 140–3.

55 Gumperz & Wilson 1971, especially p.155, "the codes used in code-switching situations in Kupwar have *a single syntactic surface structure*" [emphasis original]; "what seems to have happened in these informal varieties is a gradual adaptation of grammatical differences to the point that only morphophonemic differences (differences of lexical shape) remain." See also Van Coetsem 2000: 246–50, Winford 2003: 13, 84–6, *idem* 2005: 412–3. The Dravidian and Indo-Iranian languages spoken at Kupwar are also interesting for the case of Achaemenid Elamite from the perspective of linguistic affiliation. Restructuring under source language agentivity is likely to be more consequential if the two languages involved are unaffiliated and typologically different. This is the case for Old Iranian/Old Persian vs. Elamite, but also for the Indo-Iranian languages of India vs. the Dravidian languages; the parallel is potentially even more significant if Elamite and Dravidian are (remotely) affiliated. See also note 59 below.

It should be pointed out that situations of wide-spread 'balanced bilingualism' are rare. The norm is that speakers are more proficient in one language, and often limit their use of the second (or third) to particular settings or social spheres. Such asymmetrical, coordinated bilingualism existed among local tax administrators at Roman Narmouthis (Faiyūm), who were the contacts between the native population, who spoke Egyptian, and the Roman government, which had to be approached and reported to in Greek. The Greek of the administrative ostraca from Narmouthis clearly betrays imposition from Egyptian, which makes it likely that these individuals were bilingual in the sense that they had acquired Greek as a second language. That does not mean, as Fewster stresses in her analysis of the case, that these administrators could converse about any subject in Greek: their bilingualism probably was very asymmetrical and their proficiency in Greek was limited to a standard, technical vocabulary.[56]

The Roman Egyptian case provides us with an interesting, if at some points contrasting parallel. In Persepolis too, we do not have to imagine Iranophones to have acquired a fluent command of Elamite. In fact, the observation that Achaemenid Elamite betrays structural interference from Old Persian is as such an indication of imperfect acquisition. In this context, it should also be pointed out that 95% of the Elamite of the Fortification tablets consists of terse statements, expressed in plain constructions, with a limited vocabulary and written in a script with a reduced syllabary. Unimaginable as it seemed to Hinz and Gershevitch, it would not have been a very difficult learning process to acquire an adequate level in Elamite for Iranophones. Note in this context that reduction of complexity in the morphosyntactical structure of the recipient language is a well-known feature of imposition (source language agentivity). Hallock's famous description of Achaemenid Elamite as "a simple language" is therefore more apt than he himself may have assumed.[57]

Whereas in the Egyptian case a foreign language was imposed by a politically and culturally dominant group, the Persians adopted a native language, which had been the traditional language for such things as administration (and royal inscriptions) in their part of the world. They did not impose the use of Persian on local Elamophone administrators, but themselves engaged in writing and reading Elamite.

Even without systematic analysis of its contact-induced features, I think it is safe to say that Achaemenid Elamite is a partially restructured variety of Middle and Neo-Elamite. The restructuring does not affect all grammatical categories or the entire morphology, but it is important enough to be the result of a longer development. This is also borne out by the observation that most of the restructured features of Achaemenid Elamite seem to be stable and generalised, hence not *ad hoc* solutions of individual scribes. Therefore, Achaemenid

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56 Fewster 2002, arguing that the administrators' Greek "was developed to cope with registering and reporting tax payments to their superiors. Many (…) would have struggled to use Greek in any other circumstances." (ibid. 238).
  Another case from Egypt is that of the interference from Aramaic in a Demotic document (P. Berlin 13540), part of what is known as the Pherendates correspondence, dating to Dar. 30. As Hughes has demonstrated (1984: 77–84), the Demotic of this letter at various instances follows Aramaic word order, or uses calque constructions based on that language. The case is different from those of Narmouthis and Persepolis in that there was a written Aramaic original, which was translated into Demotic by a different scribe (as appears from the colophon; cf. Tavernier 2008: 71–3).

57 Hallock 1962: 56.

Elamite must have had a formative past of at least several generations, perhaps even of a few centuries.[58] This raises the interesting question what the original rationale was for Iranophones to acquire Elamite. Though this question cannot be answered at present, we may formulate two alternative views. According to a minimalist perspective, Persians acquired Elamite because it was the traditional language of writing and reading. They inherited it from Elam, as they inherited technical skills, economic structures, religious and ideological concepts, iconographic styles and themes. According to a maximalist perspective, the early Persians acquired Elamite as a means to communicate with the inhabitants of the Elamite state, the important Elamite towns in the Zagros foothills, and with resident Elamophones in the highlands. In this view, the use of Elamite among Iranophones was once less restricted; its limited use as a language of writing would then be a secondary development.[59]

In both these scenarios acculturation is the norm: the status of Achaemenid Elamite does not allow for the imagined separation between the speakers of Old Iranian and Elamite. Psychologically, the restructuring of Elamite on the basis of Iranian models meant appropriating it as a communicative instrument with a distinctively Persian signature. Achaemenid Elamite should be defined against the background of the Persian ethnogenesis, as a Persian thing, and as part of Persian identity.

In the last two decades historical and archaeological analysis have gradually yielded a new image of the last days of Elam. Linguistic analysis appears to be a third fruitful approach, and one that again underscores the vital importance of a longitudinal perspective on the rise of the Achaemenid empire and on Persian identity and culture in general. Given the long period involved, the ample opportunities for fruitful encounters, and the intricacy of some of the resulting phenomena – such as Achaemenid Elamite – the processes underlying the ethnogenesis of the Persians are unlikely to have been simple and one-directional. This alone should warn us not to tag individual phenomena or reigns with expedient classifiers and in doing so obscure the historical intricacies.

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58 Cf. Thomason 2001: 206, "restructuring of grammatical subsystems under nonextreme contact-induced change takes hundreds of years." In addition, one could argue that since 1) Achaemenid Elamite seems a contact-induced variety which emerged among Iranophones, and 2) Achaemenid Elamite shows moderate, not radical restructuring, it follows that the Iranians who acquired Elamite had a relatively stable and broad access to that language. In pidgin and creole formation the reverse is true: limited and unstable access leads to a radically restructured form of the recipient (target) language. Cf. Winford 2007: 35–6.

59 At this point a comparison with languages like Marathi is instructive. Marathi is an Indo-Iranian language of central India. It betrays, as Southworth (1971) has shown, substantial imposition by speakers of Dravidian, who first acquired Indo-Iranian as a second language, and then gradually shifted to the contact-induced variety of that language, at which point convergence with native speakers of Indo-Iranian occurred. Achaemenid Elamite does not seem to have had this protracted development, but the social and linguistic setting of Marathi still provide an interesting parallel, if only to underscore how significant it is that immigrant Iranians acquired Elamite, the old local language (and not vice versa, as in the case of Marathi). Since the origin of Marathi seems to have been a slow process in a rather extensive contact situation, I doubt that the terms pidgin (for the origin of the language) and post-creole continuum (for the present-day situation) are useful in this case. Be that as it may, some of the types of restructuring discussed by Southworth are very similar to what is seen in Achaemenid Elamite.

3. *Anšan and Pārsa*

With the above *caveat* in mind I return to the case of Cyrus and Darius. Recently, the argument has been made that, since dated contemporary Babylonian sources consistently label Cyrus "king of Anšan," and since there are no contemporary sources that identify Cyrus as a Persian (or an Achaemenid, for that matter), it has to be concluded that Cyrus was not a Persian, but the ruler of an independent polity centred on Anšan which was linguistically and culturally *Elamite*.[60] In this view, Darius would be the first truly Persian king.[61] Additional support is sought in the observations that Anšan had been an important

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60 Potts 2005 (readopting much earlier views of Andreas and Sayce; see Rollinger 1998a: 170–1). I should stress that I do agree with Potts' insistence that the Teispids (or Šešbešids) should be seen as a dynasty in its own right. The difference between our views is not so much in the perspective taken, but in the conclusions drawn from it. The explanation of Cyrus' purported 'Mardian' origin (Ctesias) as pointing to an area (Mardene) in western Fārs, perhaps Mamasanī, is certainly interesting, but, unless I misunderstood the argument, seems to be at odds with the Anšanite origin discussed by Potts. Note also that the three Elamite rebellions mentioned in Bīsotūn can hardly be construed as Elamite resistance against Darius' 'Persian' coup d'état, if only because the name and patronym of two of the rebel leaders seem to be Iranian and one of them rebelled in Persia. If anything, they are showcases of Iranian-Elamite acculturation (Henkelman 2003b: 183–4 with note 7, idem 2008b: 57).

61 Waters (2004) takes a view similar to that of Potts 2005 (see note 60): he acknowledges that Anšan and Parsuaš became conflated at some point, but puts excessive weight on the difference between Cyrus' and Darius' cultural orientation. Whereas Cyrus is focused on the Elamite legacy, Darius is oriented not only to the 'Persians' (in Waters' view: people of Indo-Iranian origin with a culture and identity clearly distinct from Elam and the Elamites) but also to the eastern Iranians. Waters' article then ends with a speculation on the introduction of Mazdaism under Darius (itself a very old theory), perhaps already heralded by Cassandane's introduction at the court (cf. below). It seems to me that such an approach is another example of the Herodotean dichotomy being read into the ideological statements of Cyrus and Darius and then translated into historical reality.

Some additional comments on the aforementioned study are called for. First, I do not think that the title "king of Anšan" supplied legitimacy to a Persian dynasty that had been victorious over indigenous Elamites" (p.95). There is no evidence for such a clash between two populations; the perspective seems to echo the old 'Landnahme' theory (cf. note 18 above) and as such over-simplifies the processes of acculturation and ethnogenesis in pre-Achaemenid Fārs. Secondly, I think it is rather hazardous to build an entire argument on Herodotus' statement that Cassandane, the wife of Cyrus the Great, was a daughter of Pharnaspes the Achaemenid (III.2.2; this theory is also not new: see Andreas 1904). Doing so implies that Herodotus had accurate knowledge of Cyrus' family situation. The same Herodotus, however, credits Cyrus' daughter Atossa with an influential position at Darius court *contradicted* by the evidence of the Fortification tablets, to name just one example. Can one be sure that Herodotus had an accurate idea of Cassandane's family background, and of what 'Achaemenid' meant, not only in his own days, but also at the time of Cyrus (more than a century before)? Thirdly, using the aforementioned theory to substantiate Darius' genealogical claims in Bīsotūn is far-fetched, since Darius construes his relation with Cyrus in quite a different way and does not mention Cassandane. In general, I believe we should by now be past the fruitless exercise of trying to prove the 'correctness' of Bīsotūn by means of Herodotus. Waters, furthermore, reads Herodotus' statement as an indication of blood relationship between Cassandane and Darius, but it is in fact unknown whether Herodotus defined 'Achaemenids' in such narrow terms. The fact that the Nabonidus Chronicle mentions, as Herodotus does, official mourning for Cyrus' (anonymous) wife, does not automatically imply that all of Herodotus' information on her is correct. Note that according to Ctesias Cambyses' mother was Amytis, daughter of Astyages (Ctes. F 9 §§1–2 Lenfant 2004) and that Deinon and Lyceas of Naucratis say that Cambyses was born of the Egyptian princess Neitetis (Ath. Deipn. XIII.560e–f = Deinon F 11 Lenfant 2009 = Lyceas FGH 613 F 1). Especially in the case of Ctesias, I see no a priori reason to discredit the alternative version and

Elamite highland city throughout the second millennium, that Anšan and Parsuaš appear as separate entities among the allied forces facing the Assyrians in the battle of Ḫalule in 691 BC, and that (culturally and linguistically) Elamite polities did indeed exist in the highlands, as would appear from the case of Hanni, the ruler of Ayapir (Īzeh).

Whereas I do not believe that Hanni of Ayapir, as a subordinate to an Elamite king, is of direct relevance,[62] and though I do not challenge the view that Anšan was an important Elamite centre in the second millennium, the argument drawn from the composition of the allied forces at Ḫalule requires some elaboration. Perhaps the best way to do so is by starting with a tabulated chronology of the uses of Anšan and Parsu(m)aš:[63]

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favour that of Herodotus. Both versions have an *internal* logic (dynastic marriage, clan-internal marriage), but remain uncorroborated by reliable evidence.

62 Hanni was, as Potts himself points out, only *kutur*, "keeper," of Ayapir. In his inscriptions, he explicitly acknowledges his subordination to "king Šutur-Nahhunte, son of Indada," who may have been either king of Elam or viceroy of Hidali (and himself subordinate to the king of Elam). See Henkelman 2008b: 12–3, 20–1 and cf. note 21 above. As stated above, I do not think that the Kalmākarra hoard or the Arǧān tomb are witness to culturally *Elamite* polities, but rather to culturally mixed Iranian-Elamite polities; these existed in the formative period of Persian culture and Persian identity.

63 I have excluded the Nabonidus Chronicle (ABC 7) from the table, because the date of its definitive redaction (Achaemenid?, Seleucid?) is unknown (references: Kuhrt 1988: 112 note 3, Glassner 1993: 201). The document, which almost certainly goes back to contemporary sources, is interesting for our discussion, though: it introduces Kuraš/Cyrus as King of Anšan (LUGAL *an-šá-an*, II.1), tells of the transport of the plunder from Ecbatana to the land of Anšan (*kur an-šá-an*, II.4), but also mentions, apparently, the land of Parsu (*kur pa[r-su?]*, III.3; see Grayson 1975a: 282, Beaulieu 1989: 219–20 and idem 1993: 260–1), and refers to Cyrus as King of Parsu (*kur par-su*, II.15) as well. Furthermore, the chronicle describes, in George's new reading of the relevant passage, what appears to be the investiture of Cambyses as king of Babylon under the auspices of Cyrus, clad, at this occasion, in an "Elamite garment" (George 1996: 377–85; cf. Kuhrt 1997: 300–2, idem 2007c: 114–5). The precision on the foreign attire does not have to be taken literally: 'Elamite' seems a literary way of saying 'from southwestern Iran,' hence 'Persian' (cf. 'Gutium' in III.15). Álvarez-Mon (2009) has recently restated the argument for a plain reading, suggesting that the chronista simply meant that Cyrus was wearing the type of Elamite regal attire known as *Fransenmantel* (also worn by the four-winged figure at Pasargadae). Although the notion of Cyrus deliberately wearing ancestral robes is not unattractive, I remain unconvinced that the chronicle can be construed to support this view (cf. Henkelman 2003b: 191–3 with note 35). In any case, it is not true that the text nowhere states that Cyrus was a Persian, since 'Parsu' at this time (Achaemenid or Hellenistic period) unequivocally means "Pārsa/Persia" in its full Achaemenid sense. Note, moreover, that the matter may be more complex than it appears, since even the common Persian dress may have evoked memories of Elam among the Babylonians witnessing the ritual: this attire has been analysed as having an Elamite or mixed Elamo-Persian background (Calmeyer 1988; cf. Henkelman 2003b: 191). Edition of the chronicle: Grayson 1975a: 21–2, 104–11, 282; also: Glassner 1993: 201–4 (translation), Kuhrt 2007b II 50–3 (translation and notes).

For the sake of completeness, two sources from the early Seleucid period should be mentioned. First, Berosus, who certainly based his writings on older material, introduced Cyrus as "King of the Persians" (FGH 680 F 8 §132, … Κύρου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως). By contrast, the *Dynastic Prophecy* appears to refer to Cyrus when mentioning "a king of Elam" (II.17'), an expression that has been interpreted as a deliberate archaism (cf. 'Hanaean' for Macedonian in V.17); for the text see Grayson 1975b: 24–37; Van der Spek 2003.

	Anšan, Anzan	Parsu(m)aš, Parsip, Pārsa
700	717–699: Šutruk-Nahhunte II, "king of Anzan and Susa"[I]	707: Letter to Sargon II: Šutruk-Nahhunte II seeks mobilisation[?] from […]yâ of Parsumaš[II]
	691: Sennacherib on the battle of Ḫalule: contingents from the lands of Parsuaš, Anzan, Paširu, and Ellipi[III]	691: battle of Ḫalule: contingents from the lands of Parsuaš, Anzan, Paširu, and Ellipi
650		
	ca. 640–10: seal of "Kuraš of Anzan, son of Šešbeš"[V]	643[?]: Kuraš of Parsumaš (in Fārs) sends his son Arukku as hostage to Assyria[IV]
600	ca. 620–585: Hallutaš-Inšušinak, enlarger of the realm of Anzan and Susa[VI]	- 605–562: messengers from Parsu in Nebuchadnezzar's Palace Archive[VII]
	early 6th cent.: Anzan as toponym in the Acropole archive; a town within Elam's economic scope (cf. below)	- early 6th cent.: *Parsip* as over-arching ethnonym in the Acropole archive - 595–569: Parsumašians in Babylonia[VIII]
550		
	- ca. 540, Nabonidus: "Kuraš of (the land of) Anzan"[IX] - after 539: Kuraš "king of (the city of) Anšan" (Cyrus Cyl.)[X] / "of (the land of) Aššan" (Ur brick)[XI] - ca. 530–20: Atta-hamiti-Insušnak, "king of Anzan and Susa"[XII] - ca. 520: Darius (Bīsotūn) mentions Anzan[XIII]	- ca. 520: Darius, DBa[e]: "king among the *Parsip*" (cf. DBa[p]: "king in Pārsa")[XIV]
500	- 509–493: the town Anzan mentioned in the Fortification archive[XV]	509–493 *Parsip* in the Fortification archive

Notes to the chart:

I   *ú ... su-un-ki-ik-ki* ^{AŠ}*an-za-an* ^{AŠ}*šu-šu-un-ka₄*, "I am king of Anzan and Susa" (EKI 71A+B:1–2, 73A:1). The identity of Šutruk- (EKI 73) and Šutur- (EKI 71) Nahhunte is debated (see Henkelman [forthcoming 3]).

II   SAA 15 129: 6–9 (Fuchs & Parpola 2001: 88), "The king of E[la]m has set o[ut]. He has sen[t his messenger t]o Parsumaš (^{kur}*par-su-ma-áš*), saying: 'Will […]yâ mobilize? […] against […].'" For the location of this Parsumaš see Fuchs & Parpola 2001: lii n. 102; Fuchs 2004: 342. For the date of the letter see Fuchs & Parpola o.c. xxxiii–iv, xxxvii, xli, xliv; the date identifies the "king of Elam" as Šutruk-Nahhunte II. SAA 15 130 is another, closely associated letter dealing with the Elamite mobilisation. On the episode see Waters 2011 (also discussing a possible reference to a victory of Anšanites in the Epic of Sargon [SAA 3 18]); see also idem 1999: 100–1.

III   ^{kur}*par-su-áš*, ^{kur}*an-za-an*, ^{kur}*pa-še/ši-ru*, ^{kur}*el-li-pi*. Texts: Chicago Prism V.43–4 (Luckenbill 1924: 43; Borger 1979: 83) ~ Taylor Prism V.31 (Borger l.c.) ~ Jerusalem Prism V.35 (Ling-Israel 1990: 237); Nebi Yunus Slab ll.44–5 (Luckenbill 1924: 88) ~ clay tablet copy/Vorlage 89–4–26, 150 ll. obv.3'–4' (Frahm 1997: 204 [fragmentary]); Walters Art Gallery Inscription ll.110–1 (Grayson 1963: 94–5); Ungnad-Winckler Alabaster Slab ll.40'–41'° (Frahm 1997: 131). The Bavian Inscription mentions the battle of Ḫalule, but not the names of the allies of Elam.

IV   ^m*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL ^{kur}*par-su-ma-áš*; for the text of the episode see Borger 1996: 191–2, 250 (Prism H II'.7'–13') and compare Fuchs apud Borger 1996: 280–1, 294 (Ištar Temple Inscription ll.115–8), where ^m*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL ^{kur}*par-su(-ú)-ma-áš* recurs. Cf. Rollinger 1998a: 173, idem 1999 and Kuhrt 2007b II 53–4.

V   [^{DIŠ}]˹*kur*˺*-ráš* | ^{AŠ}*an-za-* | *an-ir*˹-˺ | *ra* DUMU | *še-iš-be-* | ˹*iš*˺*-na* (PFS 0093*); see below. See Garrison 2011 for an elaborate discussion, and for the date in the late Neo-Assyrian period (second half of the sixth century). See also Waters 2011: 288–93 on the seal inscription and seal image.

VI   *ú* … ^{AŠ}*an-za-an* ^{AŠ}*šu-šu-un li-ku-me-na ri-šá-ah*, lit. "I enlarged Anšan and Susa of the realm" (EKI 77, cf. MDP 53 25). For the new, much lower dates of the reigns of some Neo-Elamite kings (followed here) see Tavernier 2006 (compare idem 2004) and Vallat 1996.

VII   See Jursa 2010.

VIII   See Zadok 1976: 66 (with references; cf. idem 1985: 247–8). Zadok's inventory also includes (many) 'Elamites,' but no 'Anšanites.' Note also the Parsumašian in a document from Nebuchadnezzar's 22nd year (604/3): GCCI I 69 (Dougherty 1923 pl. 10).

IX   ^m*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL ^{kur}*an-za-an*, "Kuraš, king of (the land of) Anzan" (Sippar Cylinder of Nabonidus, BM 91109 = Schaudig 2.12 1 I.27 and VA 2536 = ibid. 11 I.27). The text is dated by Beaulieu (1989: 34, 42, 210–2) after Nabonidus' return to Babylon, probably in year 16. See also the discussion on the purported vassalage of Cyrus in Rollinger 1999: 128–32.

X   ^m*ku-r[a-á]š* LUGAL ^{uru}*an-ša-an*, "Kuraš king of (the city of) Anšan" (Cyrus Cylinder, BM 90920 = Schaudig K2.1 l.12; cf. ll.20–1). See Kuhrt 2007a (esp. 178) and idem 2007b II 70–4.

XI   ^m*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL ŠÁR LUGAL ^{kur}*aš-ša-an* DUMU ^m*kam-bu-zi-ia* LUGAL ^{kur}*aš-ša-an*, "Kuraš, King of the World, King of (the land of) Aššan, son of Kambuziya, king of (the land of) Aššan" (Ur Brick Inscription, BM 118362 = Schaudig K1.2a ll.1–3).

XII   EKI 86:1–2 (restored). The tentative date of the inscription is based on the identification of A.-h.-I. with the Aθamaita in DB. There are various arguments supporting the low date; see Waters

2000: 85–7, Tavernier 2004: 22–9, Henkelman 2008b: 13–4, 56–7, 362–3 (pace Vallat 2006). *an-za-an* is also mentioned, in unclear context, in EKI 85:11 (Tepti-Huban-Insušnak).

[XIII] DB$_e$ III.3 $^{A\check{S}}$*an-za-an*, DB$_a$ 72 [^{KUR}]*an-za-an*^{ki}, DB$_{ar}$ 37 [ʾ]*nz*. DB$_p$ III.26 has another name for Anzan: Yadā (see Gershevitch 1979: 148–9 for an attempt to harmonise the two toponyms). On the possible implications of the reference to Anzan in Bīsotūn see Waters 2011: 287.

[XIV] I have excluded royal titles used in Late Babylonian business documents from the reigns of Cyrus to Xerxes since they are not relevant for the present discussion (see Rollinger 1998b: 355–61 and Briant 2002: 966, with references).

[XV] PF 0001 (transport of barley), PF 1112 (wine rations for *kurtaš*, "workers"), PF 1780 (transport of horses), NN 0218 (idem), NN 0420 (idem), NN 1803 (idem). On PF 1780 see Henkelman 2008b: 345 fn. 807. Whether the place $^{(A\check{S})}$*an-za-ir* (PF 0027, PF 0548) is the same as Anšan/Anzan remains hard to establish; the relevant texts yield no clues. One could argue that, since Anšar occurs in the Acropole archive (cf. below), and since the Acropole and Fortification archive do not share that many toponyms, Anšar/Anzar is likely to be the same as Anšan/Anzan. By contrast, *anzanra*, which has previously been interpreted as "Anšanite," seems to be a variant of *ansara*, hence probably an appellative unrelated to the toponym Anzan (Henkelman 2008b: 348 fn. 817).

At first glance this chronological chart may gave the impression that Anšan and Parsu(m)aš indeed remained separate entities down to the reign of Cyrus the Great. It seems plausible that Sargon's Parsumaš and Sennacherib's Parsuaš already referred to an entity in Fārs; the enumeration of Elam's allies at the battle of Ḫalule would therefore point to the simultaneous existence of Anzan and Parsuaš in the Iranian highlands.[64] Ellipi, which is mentioned alongside these polities, was still under a certain Elamite political influence in this period. The same may be true for Anzan and Parsuaš as well. If not, it would be hard to explain why these two distant polities chose to confront the Assyrian at all.[65]

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64 For Sargon's Parsumaš see note II to the chart above. For the location of Sennacherib's Parsuaš in Fārs see Stolper in Carter & Stolper 1984: 97, Stronach 1997b: 357–8, Fuchs 2004: 342, and especially Waters 1999: 102–3; for a location in the central Zagros see (tentatively) Levine 1974: 111, Miroschedji 1985: 272. Vera Chamaza (1994: 101; cf. Rollinger 1999: 122) concludes from its alliance with Elam at Ḫalule that Parsuaš was near Elam, and apparently construes this as support for the view that this Parsuaš was still located in the central Zagros. Since Anšan is also in the list of allies, closeness to Elam would not exclude a location in Fārs, however. On the Battle of Ḫalule see Waters 2000: 33–6 (with references, to which add Laato 1995).

65 As Waters (2000: 34–5) points out, the Annals of Sennacherib indicate that the coalition was a creation by the Elamite king; the implication is therefore that he acted from a position of significant influence, "if not political authority." Also suggestive is the circumstance that the allied forces were under the joined command of an Elamite *nāgiru* (for the title see Henkelman 2008b: 21, 26). I would therefore disagree with the inference that the episode reveals that Anšan was an "independent entity," which "allied itself with the lowland state of Elam in 691" (so Potts 2005: 16). The Annals neither state Anšan's independence, nor indicate that it joined the coalition on its own initiative. Yet, the converse assumption, that Anšan and Parsuaš were still integral parts of the Elamite kingdom, is also not borne out by the evidence. Not only are the Annals simply too elusive, the contrast between independence and dependence is also a false one. Anšan and Parsuaš do not need to have been fully integrated in the administrative and political structure to be attached to the Elamite crown by effective bonds of loyalty and interdependence. Such arrangements – of which many subtypes exist – do not necessarily imply weakening of power of the centre, as the case of the Achaemenid empire amply demonstrates.

The crucial question is, however, whether the existence of two different highland polities in the early seventh century (and before) translates into two different cultural and linguistic areas, into two different identities. Are we allowed to identify seventh-century Anšan as culturally and linguistically 'Elamite'? May we render 'Parsuaš' as 'Persia'? And, most important: does the map of the political landscape of Fārs suggested by Sennacherib remain valid throughout the remainder of the Neo-Elamite period and even the time of the Teispid kings? Identities develop and change by definition, as is famously shown in the ethnogenesis of the Germanic peoples, but also in the history of tribal groups in (southern) Iran in the early-modern and modern eras.[66] In a situation as volatile as that of the seventh and sixth centuries BC, with Assyrian pressure steadily increasing and then evaporating in less than a decade, with new commercial routes increasingly favouring Babylonia and southern Iran,[67] with varying degrees of cultural and political influence from lowland Elam, with a population of mixed origin, and with no evident unified leadership, this principle should be axiomatic.

In the aftermath of Assurbanipal's campaigns against Elam (in 646, 643, or 639 BC), a certain Kuraš of Parsumaš "on the far side of Elam"[68] pledged his loyalty to Assyria by sending his eldest son Arukku to Assurbanipal's court. Since Anšan is never mentioned in any inscription or Assyrian document from the reign of Assurbanipal,[69] we can hardly weigh this evidence: does Assurbanipal's reference mean that Parsumaš was turning pro-Assyrian, whereas Anšan was not? Or does it mean that Anšan was no longer known or recognised, at least not by Assyrians, as an autonomous polity? The last option seems, *prima facie*, contradicted by the seal with the inscription of "Kuraš of Anzan, son of Šešbeš," which has to be dated to shortly after the Kuraš of Parsumaš episode.[70] But can

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66 Germanic peoples: Wenskus 1961. Barth's famous study (1964) on the Bāṣerī of southern Iran shows how new tribes with a new identity could be formed from groups with Arab, Iranian, and Turkmen origin. For the application of the ethnogenesis theory to the ancient Near East see, e.g., the pertinent remarks by Rollinger 1999: 123–7 (Persians) and Strobel 2001 (Phrygians), both with references.

67 See Gibson 1991 for the suggestion that the opening of trade routes through Arabia (made possible by the introduction of camel caravans in the late second or early first millennium BC) was an important factor in the anti-Assyrian alliances between Elam and the Arameans and Chaldeans of southern Babylonia (also Radner 2003: 52). The new trade network may explain the reputed wealth of the Chaldeans (cf., e.g., Brinkman 1968: 261, idem 1979: 237 with fnn. 124, 131), and that of Elam and the Elamites (cf. Henkelman 2008b: 28–39). Though straightforward evidence is lacking, it would seem logical that, with the demise of Assyrian power, and hence of its attempts to control the Arabian trade, Babylonia and Elam would have benefited all the more.

68 This must necessarily mean Parsu(m)a(š) in Fārs (*pace* Miroschedji 1985: 272–3); cf. Fuchs 2004. See extensive discussion in Rollinger 1999 (especially pp.119–21).

69 This is true for Assurbanipal's inscriptions, but also for his correspondence, in which Anšan does not occur but (early) Persians are regularly referred to. See Waters 1999: 103–5.

70 For the date and the text see note V to the chart above. I now think that the ethnonym should be read ᴬˢ*an-za-an-ir¹-ra*, and I withdraw my earlier suggestion to read ᴬˢ*an-za-an-pé-ra* (2003b: 193 note 39). That solution, which was inspired by the shape of BI in the inscription of Atta-hamiti-Insušnak (Steve 1992: 88 sub 214/N II.13), is problematic because BI is otherwise never used to render the animate plural suffix /p/. Steve was probably right in identifying the mysterious sign as a variation of IR (1992: 89 sub 232 Ach. 4b, 152), whereby the three lower vertical strokes are represented as horizontals by the glyptic artist. There is precedent for final winkelhaken in Neo-Elamite renderings of IR. Note also the choice of determinative: AŠ (for places) rather than HAL or BE (for persons). Though the use of determinatives is ambiguous in Neo-Elamite in general, and though ethnonyms may take either AŠ or

Assurbanipal's Annals and Kuraš' seal, with their entirely different perspectives, really be construed as complementary parts of the same picture, i.e. of two co-existing political entities, Parsu(m)a(š) and Anzan? And if so, what to do with the roughly contemporaneous Elamite king Hallutaš-Inšušinak, reigning in Susa, but styling himself ruler of Anzan and Susa? On what ground can we take the seal inscription mentioning Kuraš of Anzan at face value, and simultaneously reject the title of the Elamite king as archaic or pretentious? Though I have no definite answer to these questions, I think that, in principle, it is entirely possible that Anzan came to be part of an expanding polity known in the mid-seventh century as Parsu(m)aš, and that its ruler would style himself "of Anzan" because part of his region indeed had that name, because it was a name with historic importance, and, perhaps most significant, precisely because the Neo-Elamite king was also claiming Anzan in his title.[71] But this is not more than a tentative suggestion: the nature of the available sources

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BE/HAL, I still think that it would be more precise to translate "Kuraš of Anzan" rather than "Kuraš the Anšanite," as is usually done.

71 This does not automatically imply that Kuraš of Parsumaš (Assurbanipal) was the same as Kuraš of Anzan (seal PFS 0093*). In any case, I do not believe that Kuraš of Parsumaš could have been the grandfather of Cyrus the Great, as Weidner (1931/32) and others proposed. The substantial chronological problems involved in this view have been known since Prášek first formulated them over a century ago, but are still underestimated by some (e.g., Waters 1999, 2004, 2011: 291–3). These problems are re-iterated with due emphasis in B. Jacobs 1996: 83–4; see also Rollinger 1998a: 173–4 and 1999: 136–8. Let me add a few remarks on the issue:

The Cyrus Cylinder (commissioned shortly after 539) and the seal of Kuraš of Anzan (late Neo-Assyrian period) are two entirely different documents that have almost an entire century between them. The contexts are radically different: Whereas the seal inscription identifies its user (or the patron of its user) for purposes of authentication in official documents, legal and economic transactions, etc., the Cyrus Cylinder portrays a victor who is in urgent need of a decent ancestry and whose self-expression is cast in a foreign cultural matrix. Under such circumstances the family tree may have been tidied up in order to create a straight line to the eponymous ancestor; foreshortening would be an effective means to do so. Indeed, the term "descendant" (ŠÀ.BAL.BAL = *liblibbu*; Schaudig K2.1 ll.21), used by Cyrus to describe his relation with Šišpiš, in principle does not contradict that one or several generations stood between Šišpiš and Cyrus' grandfather (cf. Rollinger 1998a: 185 with note 162, comparing the first, short genealogy given by Darius at Bīsotūn). Moreover, Cyrus may not have remembered all the details of the history of his dynasty beyond his own grandfather. That there could have been 'irregular' elements such as succession by brothers or nephews rather than (eldest) sons seems a priori not unlikely if we imagine seventh-century Fārs, the tribal organisation of the Persians, and the likely absence of a firmly established dynastic principle. Note, in the same context, that the title of "Great King, King of Anšan" that Cyrus credits all his ancestors with arouses the suspicion of a post-eventum creation of a well-established dynasty; the Kuraš of the seal inscription does not style himself 'king' (compare Rollinger's insightful analysis of Darius' genealogy [1998a: 176–188; see ibid. 189–99 for a discussion of the genealogy in Hdt. VII.11.2]).

There is no compelling reason to identify Cyrus' grandfather Kuraš, "Great King, King of Anzan," with "Kuraš of Anzan, son of Šešbeš" of the seal inscription (cf., similarly, Rollinger 1999: 137). The latter could just as well have been a more distant ancestor of Cyrus. If so, one could in principle re-consider the possibility that Kuraš of Anzan (seal inscription) and Kuraš of Parsumaš (Assurbanipal) are the same, but nothing forces that conclusion, especially since Kuraš seems to have been a regular name in the sixth century. See MDP 9 98 (Acropole archive), [BE]*kur-ráš* and VAS 3, 55 (dated 541/40), [I]*ku-ur-ra-šú*, father of one [I]*mar-du-ú* (see Zadok 1976: 62–3; the combination of the last two names strikingly reminds of the Mardian ancestry of Cyrus the Great mentioned by Ctesias, F8d* §§3, 5, 9, 30 Lenfant 2004; cf. Potts 2005: 23 on the Mardoi).

It is not unthinkable that the seal of "Kuraš of Anšan, son of Šešpeš" itself played a role in the

does not allow for the conclusion that 'Anzan' equalled 'Parsu(m)a(š)' in this period, nor that the two were still separate and autonomous polities. A non liquet is unavoidable.

The situation improves dramatically shortly after 600 BC with the availability of information from the Neo-Elamite Acropole archive, found at the eastern edge of the Susa Acropole.[72] It documents transactions of commodities, including textiles and metal items, between the palace at Susa and a number of towns and groups in and beyond the territory under direct control of the post-Assyrian Neo-Elamite state. The view offered by the archive is likely to be lopsided in that it looks at things from the point of view of the central administration, but it is not likely to be biased or misinformed when it comes to the political realities of the day. As such, the Acropole archive is a most valuable, yet rarely invoked, source for the subject under discussion.

There are only two certain occurrences of the name of Anšan in the edited Acropole texts.[73] Spelled (AŠ)*an-za-an*, it is mentioned in connection with a named individual[74] and,

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construction of the genealogy presented by Cyrus the Great. As it was still in use at the Persian court during the reign of Darius, it logically was handed down within the Teispid dynasty in earlier days. What was really known about this treasured seal? Its inscription indicates that it once belonged to a 'Kuraš,' who happened to be son of Šešpeš, but nothing more. If this Kuraš was not the same as Cyrus' homonymous grandfather, he still may have come to be regarded as such. As such 'grandfather's seal' may itself have been instrumental in suggesting the foreshortened genealogy of the Cyrus Cylinder, running from Šešpeš, via 'Kuraš' and the first Cambyses, to Cyrus.

72 299 texts from the archive were published by père V. Scheil (1907 [S 1–298], 1911 [S 309]), with hand copies by J.E. Gautier. An additional group of 724 numbered fragments remains unedited, as do the seal impressions on the tablets. A preliminary examination of the published texts showed how unreliable the existing editions are. In several cases it can be demonstrated that Scheil was working from the hand copies rather than the actual tablets and, in doing so, copied mistakes and omissions introduced by Gautier. In the latter's hand copies, signs are often imprecisely or over-optimistically rendered, signs written on the right edge are regularly omitted, and sometimes whole lines are glossed over due to incomplete cleaning of the tablet surface. Also, the hand copies and editions represent the tablet formats very inaccurately; lines written on the lower edge may be printed as if written on either the obverse or reverse; partially broken or illegible lines may or may not be counted as separate line. Any future edition will have to discard this erratic system; I have instead adopted continuous line numbering for most texts. A date in the early sixth century is nowadays assumed by most commentators. See, among others, Vallat 1996: 393 (585–539 BC), Tavernier 2004: 30–2 (590/580–565/555), idem 2006 (585–565 [implied]). Garrison (2002: 92) assigns a date as low as 550–520 to the Acropole tablets, based on the glyptic evidence. Cf. Henkelman 2008b: 5–6.

73 A third occurrence is uncertain. Scheil 1907: 197 reads *an?-za?-an-ri* in S 281:10 (followed by Jusifov 1963: 217, EW q.v. and Vallat 1993 q.v.), but the second sign is problematic and the traces of the first do not encourage the reading AN. In addition, if the form is to be analysed as toponym with the animate sing. suffix [r] ("he from GN" – so EW), one would have expected regular *-ra* instead of *-ri*. The absence of a determinative is a bit disquieting, but not unparalleled (see S 117:6). Also problematic is the immediate context (l.11). It mentions, as recipient, a messenger or representative (*hutlak*) of Appalaya, most likely the leader of an Aramean group in *western* Khūzestān (cf. Henkelman 2003b: 213 note 114). I am therefore disinclined to follow Scheil's reading. On S 107:8 see note 79 below.

74 S 117:6, 2 AN*ki-li-man an-za-an du-iš*, "2 (spears) Kiliman (of) Anzan received." The sign MAN in ANki-li-man (S 117:6) may also be read as the logogram MAN/PAP, used for the god Šimut (see Henkelman [forthcoming 2], with references). The same individual may occur in S 172:15, ANki-⌜li?⌝[-…], where Scheil (counting the line as l.10) restored ANki-⌜li⌝[-man an-za-an]. The context does not offer a specific enough parallel, however, and there are other restorations possible for the name.

apparently, with a certain official or representative.[75] In addition there are three references to a place or locale named ^{AŠ}*an-šar*/*an-za-ri*(-*na*).[76] Vallat has raised the possibility that this might be the same as Anšan/Anzan (1993 q.v.); proof supporting such an identification is lacking.[77] Anšar/Anzari(na) is twice mentioned as the town where a transaction has taken place.[78] Once it is connected to a named individual.[79] The ethnonym/secondary toponym 'Anšanite' does not occur. Where Anzan or Anšar/Anzari(na) carries a determinative, it is always ^{AŠ} (for topographical entities), not ^{BE} (for persons).

The name *parsirra*/*parsip*, "Persian(s)," by contrast, is evidently used as a real ethnonym.[80] Ten out of twelve occurrences are in the plural (^{BE}*pár-sìp*). Of these, four are references to Persians without further qualification. They appear as recipients (?) of certain items.[81] Significantly, one of these three texts lists ^{AŠ}*šá-la-ib-be*, "people from the place

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75 S 176 is difficult to understand: ^{1} 1 *sa-har-pi* ^{2} ^{BE}*ma-ak-tab-be-*⌜*na*⌝ ^{3} ŠÀ-*ma* ^{AŠ}*an*[(-x-x)] ^{4} *ti-*⌜*ra*⌝-*be-*⌜*ra*⌝ ^{5} *du-*⌜*iš*⌝ ^{6} [ITI] ⌜x⌝ UD ^{7} [^{AŠ}*šu*]-*šu-un*. Scheil reads ^{AŠ}*an-za-an-ti-ra-be-ra* in ll.3–4; in its present state, the tablet has a (recent?) break after AN, and nothing remains of Scheil's *-za-an*. More problematic is that the toponym Anzan/Anšan is never written with *-ti*; Jusifov (1963: 221) is therefore probably right in emending Scheil's reading to ^{AŠ}*an-za-an ti-ra-be-ra*. This leaves an unexplained *ti-ra-be-ra*, "he of the *tira*-people (of) Anzan$^?$." Stolper (pers.comm.) rightly notes that Scheil's ^{AN}*za-na-be-ir-ti-ra* in S 150:5 may alternatively be read *an-za-na-be*(-)*ir*(-)*ti-ra*. Since the spelling *an-za-na-* does not occurs elsewhere, however, I am disinclined to connect it to the name of Anšan/Anzan.

76 Vallat (1993 s.v. Anzar) counts S 233:6 (recte S 233:7') as a fourth attestation of Anzar, but the text reads [^{AŠ}(x)]-*an-te-maš* (alt. *-te-me*, *-te-bar*), as also indicated by Vallat o.c. s.v. Antema (cf. Jusifov 1963: 227). On S 107:8 see note 79 below.

77 Cf. note XV to the chart above.

78 S 78:9, ⌜^{AŠ}⌝*an-šar*; S 167:34, ^{AŠ}*an-za-ri-na*.

79 S 107:5–6, 2 ^{GIŠ}BAN^{MEŠ} ^{BE}*hu-ban-*⌜*ki*⌝[*-tin*] ^{AŠ}*an-za-*⌜*ri-na*⌝, "2 bows (for) Huban-Kitin of$^?$ Anzar." Line 8 of the same text probably reads ^{BE}*šá-tin* ^{AŠ}*an-*⌜*ka₄$^?$-x*⌝[(-x)], "priest of$^?$ Anka[…]." The reading ^{AŠ}*an*[*-za-ri-na*], as suggested by Jusifov 1963: 204, is contradicted by collation.

80 The following survey excludes occurrences of 'Parsirra' as personal name. It is found as such in S 47:12 (^{BE}⌜*pár*⌝-*sir-ra* DUMU *pár-ru*, "Parsirra son of Parru") and S 117:5 (1 ^{BE}*pár-sir-ra du-iš*, "1 [spear] Parsirra received" – in a list of 6 named recipients). In S 97:6, ^{BE}*pár-sir-ra-na* is not preceded by a personal name; it may itself be one. A fourth case excluded from discussion is S 233:4' (^{BE}*pár-sir-ra*), where the context is broken. For the name, compare "Parsirra son of Kurluš" in a Neo-Elamite seal inscription (Amiet 1973 no. 32; Tavernier 2011: 194)and Parsirra in MDP 11 307:9 (list of five witnesses; Neo-Elamite text from the Apadana mound).

81 *parsip* in texts listing items issued (?) to individuals and groups:
   – S 166:5', 1 KI+MIN ^{BE}*pár-sìp-ib-be*, "1 ditto (for?) Persians."
   – S 166:26', ⌜2$^?$⌝ *šá-mar-ráš* ^{BE}*pár-sìp-*⌜*ib*⌝-*be*, "2 šamarraš (for?) Persians."
   – S 246:18", ⌜PAP⌝ 6 ^{BE}*pár-*⌜*sìp*⌝[-…], "total 6 (garments) (for?) Persians."
   – S 281:20–1, 2 *sa-ah* ^{GIŠ}GI^{MEŠ} ^{BE}*pár-sìp a-ráš* [(…)] *gi-ri-ih*, "2 arrow heads (?) (of/and) arrow-shafts Persians deposited(?) (at) the storehouse."
   In S 166:26' Scheil (followed by Jusifov 1936: 224 and EW s.v. *šá-mar-tuk*) read TUK as *tuk*, not *ráš*. The correct reading can be established from the alternative spelling ^{GIŠ}*šá-mar-ir*-TUK (S 154:21), where *ir* functions as *mater lectionis* or 'phonetic complement' indicating the value *ráš* for TUK (^{GIŠ}*šá-mar-*^{ir}*ráš*). It is tempting to connect the term to Achaemenid Elamite ^{GIŠ}*šá-u-mar-ráš*, a word of uncertain meaning that occurs regularly in the Fortification texts (see Henkelman 2005: 150, with earlier bibliography).
   S 246 is a fragment from a large tablet; the obverse mentions two individuals with Iranian names.
   The translation of S 281 is tentative. For *sah* cf. EW s.v. *sa-h* (3). The form *girih* is a bit mysterious: it is a conj. I 1st sg., but a 3rd pl. seems required. Perhaps we may therefore emend the form to *gi-ri-ih*<-*iš*> [giri.h.š]. The profane context in which *giri-* occurs suggest that a meaning different than the regular "to

Šala," in the entry directly preceding that on the [BE]*pár-sìp-ib-be*.[82] Here, the use of different determinatives seems meaningful: members the first group are inhabitants of the town Šala (use of [AŠ] for topographical entities), whereas those of the second belong to the tribe or ethnos of the Persians ([BE] for persons). In six further cases, *parsip* is followed by a precision: [(AŠ)]*za-am-be-gìr-ip* (Zambegir-people)[83], [AŠ]*hu-⌈ri⌉[-ip]* (Huri-people)[84], and [(AŠ)]*da-at* (*-ti*)*-ia-na-ip* (Dat(ti)yana-people).[85] Again, the use of different determinatives is significant: various groups of *parsip* all belong to the same overarching tribe or ethnos (use of [BE]), but they come from various places or regions: Zambegir-, Huri-, and Dat(ti)yana- (use of [AŠ]). In at least two of the *parsip* texts the ethnonym summarises individuals with Iranian names.[86] Both named individuals qualified as *pár-sir-ra* also seem to have Iranian names.[87]

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vow" is meant, hence my "deposited." For *giri-* see Henkelman 2003a: 146 note 83, idem 2008b: 288, 405 (with bibliography).

82 S 166:4', 3[?] KI+MIN [AŠ]*šá-la-ib-be*, "3 ditto (for?) people from Šala." The town of Šala is also known from the Fortification archive; there, it appears to be a locality in the Persepolis region (Henkelman 2008b: 112, 313 note 721, 490 note 1135; see Vallat 1993 s.v. Šala for references).

83 *parsip zampegirip*:
    – S 11:7–8, [BE]*pár-sìp* [AŠ]*za-am-be-gìr-ip*, "Persians from Zampegir-." See below.
    – S 94:32–3, [32] ⌈11[?]⌉ *ku-uk-tu₄ da-ban-ti-na* [33] [2[?]] KI+MIN PÍR.PÍR PAP 13 [BE]*pár-sìp za-am-be-⌈gìr-ip du-iš⌉*, "11[?] *kuktu*-garments of the *dabanti* kind, 2[?] ditto, small[?], in total 13 (garments) Persians from Zampegir- received." Note that the preceding line (l.31) mentions 12 items [received by] [BE]*pu-hu* ⌈*sa*⌉-*ma-tup*, "Samatian tribesmen" (on this use of *puhu*, "boy," see Henkelman 2008b: 29–30, 273–4). If anything, the different perception of the two groups points again to *parsip* as an overarching category, including people from several tribes/towns/regions, not necessarily with the same modes of social and political organisation. By contrast *puhu samatup* seems to refer to a smaller and at any rate more homogenous entity, and impression strengthened by the Kalmākarra inscriptions, a corpus that documents a succession of chiefs ('kings') of Samati.
    An individual with the Iranian name Išpugurda (*Spākṛta-) is qualified as *zampegirra* in S 238:3 (on the name see Tavernier 2011: 205). For the sign GÌR see Steve 1988.

84 *parsip hurip*: S 49:2', […] [BE]⌈*pár-sìp*⌉ [AŠ]*hu-⌈ri⌉[-ip]*.

85 *parsip dat(ti)yanap*:
    – S 51 rev.8', [[BE]*pár*]-⌈*sìp*⌉ *da-at-ia-na-ip*.
    – S 187:18, [PAP] 5 [BE]⌈*pár*⌉*[-sìp(-ib)]-*⌈*be*[?]⌉ [AŠ]*da-at-ti-ia-na-ip*. The tablet is a bad shape and there is large break in the middle of l.18. The hand copy and transliteration by Scheil imply a better state of preservation, with no break in l.18; the hand copy unequivocally suggests the reading [BE]*pár-sìp*. It is hard to follow this reading, however, since the break seems too large for just two signs. Moreover, the partially preserved sign at the end of the break is not necessarily ZIB (*sip*), and could be BAD (*be*), hence my tentative restoration [BE]⌈*pár*⌉*[-sìp(-ib)]-*⌈*be*[?]⌉.
    – S 281:29, PAP 6 TUK 6 ⌈[BE]⌉*pár-sìp da-*⌈*at*⌉*-ia-*⌈*na*⌉*-ip* ⌈*du-iš-da*⌉, "total: 6 *tukli* garments (and) 6 (*kuktu* garments), Persians from Dat(ti)yana- received." In this case, TUK seems an abbreviation of *tukli* in the preceding line; but see Hinz 1967: 86 and EW s.v. *tuk* for an alternative interpretation. ⌈*du-iš-da*⌉, which is written on the right edge and reverse, is ignored in Gautier's handcopy and Scheil's transliteration.

86 S 11, S 187. On the Iranian names in the archive see Tavernier 2002b and 2011.

87 Individuals qualified as *parsirra*:
    – S 121:4, PAP [BE]*ha-du-iš pár-sir-ra du-iš*, "total (of commodities that) Haduš the Persian received" (the handcopy and transliteration omit *du-iš* [written on right edge]); Scheil read *za-man-* for *ha-*. See Tavernier 2011: 208 on Haduš.
    – S 185:13, [[BE]…]*-man*[?]*-*⌈*da pár-sir-ra*⌉ (if read correctly, probably a *-vanta* name; compare, e.g., *áš-šá-man-da*, *ba-ku-man-da*, *ku-man-da*, on which Tavernier 2007a: 118 [4.2.146], 141–2 [4.2.296], 191 [4.2.661]).

Interestingly, *dat(ti)yanap* probably represents an Iranian name, whereas *hurip* could be Elamite.[88]

   One of the texts listed above may be singled out – because it is well-preserved and well-understood – as an example illustrating the contexts in which *parsip* occur in the Acropole archive:

S 11 (collated) = Sb 12781 = Jusifov 1963 no.59[a]

obverse

1. 1 ^{BE}*ba-ak-ráb-ba* ⌈*du-iš*⌉
2. 1 ^{BE}*ti-ia-ad-da du-iš*[b]
3. 1 ^{BE}*ma-at-ri-iš du-iš*[c]
4. PAP 3 *ku-uk-tu₄* PÍR.PÍR[d]
5. *kur-mán* ^{BE}*ku-ud-da-*

lower edge

6. *ka₄-ka₄-na*
7   *hu-ma-ka₄* ^{BE}*pár-sìp*

reverse

8. ^{AŠ}*za-am-be-gìr-ip*
9. *du-uh-iš-da*
10.   ITI ŠE UD DIRIG[e]
11. ^{AŠ}*kur-du*[-*uš*]-*um*[f]

[1] 1 (garment) Bakrabba received, [2] 1 (garment) Tiyadda received, [3] 1 (garment) Matriš received. [4] Total: 3 undyed[?] *kuktu* garments, [5–6] allocation from Kuddakaka, [7] were acquired; [7–9] Persians from Zampegir- received (them). [10] Intercalary sixth month, [11] (at) Kurdušum.

   In both these cases *parsirra* lacks a determinative because it is preceded by a personal name that already carries it (reconstructed in S 185). In such sequences only the first element needs a determinative.

88 *dat(ti)yanap*: Tavernier 2011: 198 (cf. ibid 209, where an Iranian etymology for *zampegirip* is doubted). *hurip*: Henkelman 2008b: 48 with note 124 (cf. idem 2003b: 213 fnn. 112, 115 on the name of the Maraphians).
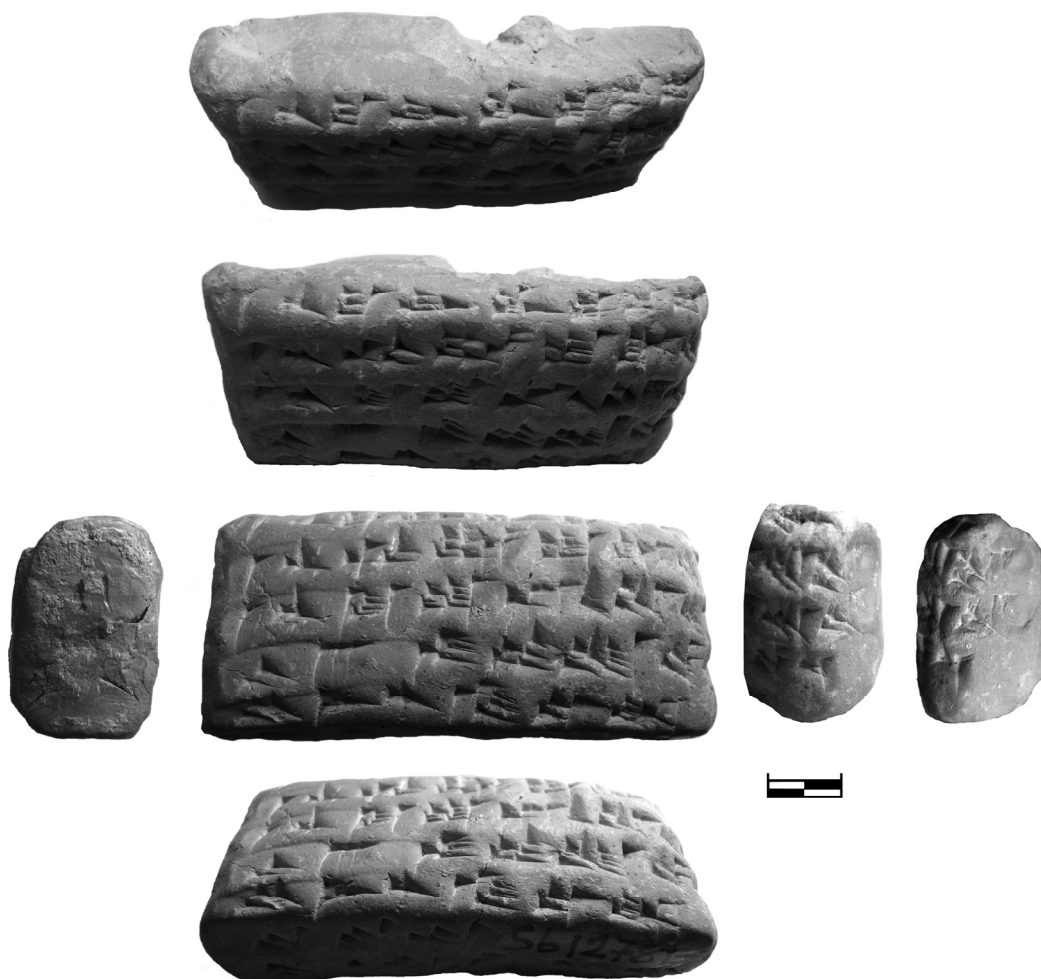
Figure 1: S 11 upper edge, obverse, left and right edge
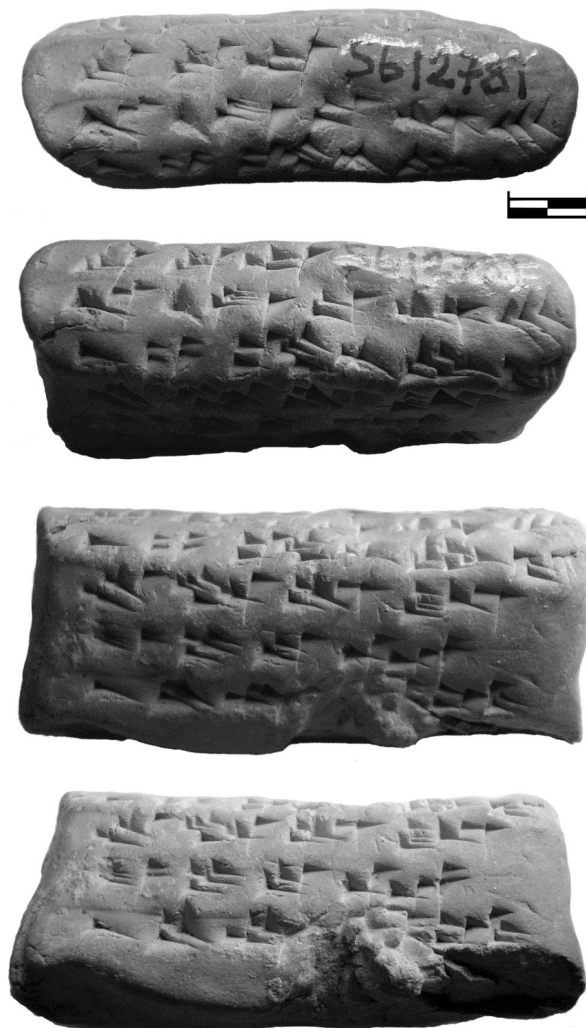photograph by the author

Figure 2: S 11 lower edge and reverse
               photograph by the author

Notes on the text:
a. The seal impressed on the tablet may be Amiet 1973 no. 1, but the identification is very tentative
     (pers.comm. M.B. Garrison).
b. *iš* on right edge.

c. *iš* on right edge.
d. The precise meaning of *kuktu* has not been established yet, but it is reasonably certain that the term denotes a type of garment. See Hinz 1967: 85–6, Álvarez-Mon 2010, [forthcoming]. Hinz (1967: 87; cf. EW s.v. BABBAR BABBAR) read PÍR.PÍR as BAR₆.BAR₆ or BABBAR.BABBAR, which he interpreted as "ganz weiß." This analysis implies confusion of the signs PÍR and UD (PIR), which in itself is well attested in Elam (cf. Steve 1992: 156–7). Although PÍR and UD are clearly distinct in S 11, we may consider PÍR.PÍR as the conventional Elamite writing of UD.UD (DADAG). In Akkadian writing, UD.UD is the Sumerogram for *ebbu*, *ellu*, and *namru* (see CAD E 1– 4 s.v. *ebbu* [esp.1b], 102–6 s.v. *ellu*, CAD N/1 239–44 s.v. *namru* [esp. 1a4']); cf. Borger 2004: 164). These words share a basic meaning "shining, clean, pure." Both *ebbu* and *namru* may qualify textiles. Since PÍR.PÍR sometimes seems to contrast with *karsuka*, "painted, decorated" (e.g., S 48), I have tentatively translated the Elamite term as "undyed."
e. For the reading DIRIG (Scheil: SI.A) see Steve 1992: 148.
f. Scheil read the GN as ^AŠ*šad-du*[-…]-*um* (cf. Jusifov 1963: 207). The publication of the Fortification tablets, in which a toponym *Kurdušum* occurs regularly, subsequently prompted the right reading ^AŠ*kur-du*[-*šu*]-*um* (Hinz 1987: 131 [implied], EW q.v., Vallat 1993 q.v.).

The three Persians in this text all have Iranian names.[89] They received the *kuktu* garments at Kurdušum, a place that would later, during the reign of Darius I, fall under the control of the Persepolis administration. Kurdušum may be situated in the westernmost sector under the purview of Persepolis, the so-called Fahliyān region, a series of northwest/southeast running valleys that connect lowland Khūzestān to Fārs.[90] This opens a perspective of progressive Persianisation, in the Zagros foothills, during the later Neo-Elamite and early Persian periods. What seems to be true for Kurdušum also applies to towns like Huhnur and Šullaggi (cf. below) and the strategic city of Hidali, all of which seem to have shifted from a Susa-centred to a Persepolis-centred sphere of influence.[91]

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89 See Tavernier 2011 on Bakrabba/*Bagrapa- (p.197), Tiyadda/*Dayāta- (p.198), and Matriš/*Hvāθriš (pp.200–1). The name of Kuddakaka, the general keeper of the royal stores at Susa (mentioned in S 11:5–6 and passim in the Acropole archive), has also been considered as Iranian, but this is less certain (see Tavernier ibid. 209, with references).

90 The location of Kurdušum in the (western) Fahliyān region is indicated by collocation of the toponym and the regional seal PFS 0002* (PF 1055, PF 1056, PF 1068, PF 1605), the seal of Irtuppiya. An absolute location (as suggested by, among others, Arfa'i 1999: 44) cannot be established at present. Kurdušum is sometimes found associated with other places such as Liduma (PF 0083, PF 0084, NN 2152, PFa 05), Dašer (NN 0802, NN 0803), Bessitme (PFa 05), and Zakzaku (NN 0182, NN 1145, NN 1261, NN 2390, NN 2570). For Dašer and Bessitme, both probably in the Fārs/Khūzestān border zone, see Henkelman 2008b: 112 note 245, 500 with note 1158, 502 note 1164 and Potts 2008: 290–1.

91 In this context, it is interesting to notice that Parsumaš and people from Parsumaš are mentioned in three late Assyrian letters (dating between 653 and 646) in contexts that also mention (inhabitants of) Hidali, Šallukku (Šullaggi), and Taḫḫašar (Dašer?) in the Zagros foothills (ABL 961, ABL 1309 and ABL 1311+ [De Vaan 1995: 311–17]; on these texts see Miroschedji 1985: 274–5, Waters 1999: 103–4 and idem 2000: 59–60, 74). Though I doubt that translating Parsumaš as "Persia(n)" in texts of this early date is justified, the evidence is indeed suggestive of heightened interaction, perhaps including local armed clashes, between inhabitants of the Elamite kingdom and groups from the highlands in Elam's eastern the border zone.

The above example shows how important the evidence on the *parsip* in the Acropole archive is and how this material gives a taste of the complexity and dynamism of an historical development of which we only know the bare outlines. No such niceties can be construed around the occurrences of Anšan in the same archive. As indicated above, the ethnonym 'Anšanite' is not used at all. The town is mentioned only a few times, and if we discard ^{AŠ}*an-šar/an-za-ri* as variant spelling, it does not even occur as a place where a transaction took place.

Whereas the Acropole archive clearly subscribes to the idea that 'Persian' was an identity including various different groups, there is no clear evidence that 'Anšan' was anything else than a toponym denoting a town in the highlands. This makes it hard to believe in a real *Anšanite* identity: if that existed in the case of "Kuraš of Anzan, son of Šešbeš," and also in the case of Cyrus the Great, "king of Anzan," why would the Acropole archive, chronologically half way between these two sources, omit the ethnonym 'Anšanite'? This would be all the more inexplicable if we believe that the Teispid dynasty ruled a linguistically and culturally *Elamite* entity with a distinct 'Anšanite' identity, as has been suggested.

Finally, a few words may be added on Anšan in the inscriptions of Cyrus the Great. First, it should be stressed that these are *Babylonian* inscriptions, and that we have nothing from Cyrus from the heartland. We therefore cannot exclude that Cyrus also styled himself king of Pārsa in domestic contexts. Be that as it may, it is clear that Anšan really was part of his titulature: it was certainly not an invention of the Babylonian scribes.

Anzan occurs in the Fortification archive and in the Bīsotūn inscription,[92] so the site is likely to have been inhabited then, and at the time of Cyrus as well.[93] Quite probably, both the town and the surrounding region were known as 'Anz/šan.' At the same time 'Pārsa-' was an existing and increasingly popular name for a region of Fārs and its inhabitants; it is this name that is not only reflected in the Acropole archive, but also in Babylonian administrative documents dating to the time of Cyrus' immediate predecessors. People from the highlands did not, apparently, introduce themselves as Anšanites, but as Persians. That 'Anšan' is nevertheless used by Cyrus in his royal titles has, at least in my view, to be related to its historic importance, perhaps including its existence as a highland polity at the time of Sennacherib (whatever its ethnic or cultural orientation might have been). This is one possible explanation. The other, which does not exclude the first one, is that Cyrus and his predecessors were competing with the Neo-Elamite kings at Susa, who still called themselves "king of Anšan and Susa," possibly even down to the reign of Darius. Seen against this background, "king of Anšan" could be seen as the first half of the Elamite title.[94] In the light of the second explanation, I maintain that it is conspicuous that the Cyrus Cylinder speaks of the *city* of Anšan (^{uru}*an-za-an*).[95] One may object that the Ur brick inscription of

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92 Cf. fnn. 31–2 above; see also Potts 2011.

93 Achaemenid column bases, of which the date cannot be established more precisely, were discovered at Tall-e Malyān: Abdi 2001: 92–3, Boucharlat 2005: 230–1.

94 So Henkelman 2003b: 193–4; cf. above on Kuraš of Anzan.

95 Contra: Waters 2005: 529–30 (also idem 2011: 287-8), who doubts the strength of the argument, since the land of Anšan is also referred to in Cyrus' inscriptions (Ur brick; cf. note XI to the chart above). As Zadok 1976: 70, with note 101 explains, places outside Babylonia may get URU or KUR or KI. Examples of toponyms with varying determinatives are Tyre, Ecbatana, and Ḫumadēšu. The variation may reflect the well-known situation of a district with a homonymous district centre, which is

Cyrus as well as the Sippar Cylinder of Nabonidus refer to the land of Anšan, but this does not change the fact that no reference to the city of Anšan had been made in any Babylonian texts since the time of Gudea (!).[96] I will not push this argument, however, since the alternative (use of Anšan for traditional reasons) amounts to the same, at least in my view: "king of Anšan" is not merely a descriptive title. 'Anšan' referred to an ancient territory and an ancient town, and perhaps to the title of the Neo-Elamite kings (itself a continuation of a Middle Elamite title). But it does *not* describe a separate ethnic identity, and certainly not an identity distinctive from, and competing with, the emergent Persian identity.[97] That its occurrences are limited to regal contexts betrays what Anšan really is: an old name with an epic ring to it, perhaps a metaphor for the age-old Elamite monarchy and hence sought after by the rivalling heirs of that tradition, but in any case fit for the ideologically charged titulature of a young dynasty seeking to establish itself in a world that, in Olmstead's famous words, was not only old, but also knew its antiquity.[98]

It is true that Darius (and Xerxes), in contrast to Cyrus, stresses his Persian identity and, in addition, refers to his Aryan lineage, but, in doing so, he hardly intended to promote a radically different perception of ethnic identity. It would seem that Old Persian *arya*- and Avestan *airiia*-, whatever their pre-Iranian history and meaning, had become terms used with reference to a mythical past that were construed and suited to their various Iranian contexts.[99] To call oneself of Aryan stock, to describe the Old Persian version of the Bīsotūn inscription as *arya*, and to gloss Auramazdā's name in the Elamite version as "god

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particularly well attested in the Iranian context. Yet, unless I am mistaken, this affects the validity of KUR (which may be used in a vague sense), but not URU. This is especially true for Anšan: the city of Anšan had not been referred to as such by Mesopotamian scribes since the end of the third millennium. I find it hard to believe that the sudden use of URU is of no significance.

96   In addition, the Cyrus Cylinder is obviously a document of a more prestigious nature. Note that the Ur brick has the unusual spelling [kur]*aš-ša-an*, which does not inspire much trust in the knowledge of the scribe. Nabonidus' Sippar Cylinder is important and seems well-informed, since it knows that Cyrus' styles himself ruler "of Anšan," but it nevertheless does not have the same authority as the Cyrus Cylinder with regards to the royal title.

97   In saying so, I return to a perspective taken by, among others, Josef Wiesehöfer, who describes Anšan as an "independent kingdom […] under a Persian dynasty" (Wiesehöfer 1999). Similarly: Miroschedji 1985: 298–9, Stronach 1997b: 356–62. Compare also the prudent remarks by Kuhrt, who qualifies the initial polity headed by Cyrus and his direct predecessors as "a new, small kingdom […], ruled by a *Persian* dynasty, but calling themselves 'kings of Anshan' " [emphasis mine, WH], a title that, as Kuhrt agrees, refers to an old Elamite realm and echoes "a venerable Elamite title" (2007c: 115). Note also the interesting suggestion (ibid.) that Cyrus' growing aspirations expressed by his self-styling as King of Anšan may have prompted Astyages to attack him.

98   Olmstead 1948: 1, "When Cyrus entered Babylon in 539 B.C., the world was old. More significant, the world knew its antiquity."

99   Here I follow Kellens' recent re-evaluation of the problem of the Āryas, where it is argued that Avestan *airiia*- corresponds to Vedic *árya*-, "mais il est probable que tout sentiment de son sens étymologique était perdu et il apparaît que le mot est integré avec précision dans l'histoire mythique des origines iraniennes. *airiia*- a donc été réinterprété dans le cadre spécifique de la culture iranienne et ne prend de sens que dans la mesure où il est évocateur d'une série d'événements qui fondent l'identité du peuple à qui il sert de nom" (2005: 240). And also, "Etre airiia/āriya, à l'époque avestique et achéménide, c'est certes parler une langue spécifique, comme Darius l'atteste en DB IV 84, mais c'est aussi descendre des hommes que Yima rassemblés et faire partie de ceux qu'attend l'immortalité spirituelle aménagée par Zaraθuštra, en attendant mieux à la fin des temps" (ibid. 242). See also Gnoli 1987: 521–4.

of the Aryans," do not constitute straightforward descriptive statements.[100] *arya-* is at once a recognition of a linguistic reality, a perception of inherited culture, and an evolving selfdesignation that evokes an imagined epic past for contemporary usage. As far as our perception goes, it would seem that 'Aryan' is very different from 'Persian.' Though it potentially describes more people, namely all the Iranian-speaking nations of the empire, it is used in a restrictive and less neutral sense – the antonym non-Aryan seems to be in the air every time 'Aryan' is used.[101] Also, judging from Greek and other secondary sources, 'Aryan' did not become a label for Achaemenid Persians or for Iranian-speaking nations in the empire in general; it was, apparently, not a name used by Persians or Iranophones when they introduced themselves to others.[102] 'Aryan' was an explicit yet special mark of distinction, hence suitable for royal titulature, to be used in tandem with the more inclusive 'Persian.' Seen as such, the *use* of 'Aryan' strikes me as a conspicuous parallel to the use of 'Anšan' in Cyrus' titulature. 'Anšan' and 'Aryan' are both deployed to construct a royal self-image on top of an existing and widely-accepted ethnic and cultural identity. The cornerstone to this view is, of course, that there was such a thing as a Persian identity during the reign of Cyrus. As argued above, the occurrence of Persians in Babylonian and Elamite sources shortly pre-dating Cyrus, and the absence of 'Anšanites' in the same sources suggest that Persian identity was indeed well-established when Cyrus founded the empire. 'Pārsa,' at this time was not one of many polities in the highlands, but referred to an ever-more comprehensive identity. The ethnogenesis of the Persians may actually be seen as the great dynamic behind the rise of the Achaemenid Empire. Yet, it also seems inescapable that the emergence and success of empire changed and precipitated the growth of Persian self-awareness to a more pronounced and mature stage. Although, in the absence of 'native' texts from his reign, one cannot be entirely sure, it seems that Cyrus' titulature lacked a reference to Persia. If that impression is correct, Darius' Persian identity is, in my view, new in the sense that it is expressed explicitly, not in the sense that it was newly constructed. Similarly, the change from Anšan to Aryan primarily seems to reflect different historical contexts, not necessarily a deep-rooted difference in cultural orientation. In Cyrus' days, the Elamite kingdom was still *the* regional power in southwestern Iran, and the example for state structures and organisation. At the time Darius acceded to power, i.e. three generations into the imperial age, the Persian world had grown considerably. The perception of an 'Aryan' heritage and past, provided, with its epic associations, a backbone for the imperial claim. In other words, it would in a sense be anachronistic to call Cyrus less

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100 DNa$_p$ 14–5, DSe$_p$ 13–4, *arya arya ciça*, "Aryan, of Aryan stock." Cf. XPh$_p$ 13 *arya aryaciça*. DB$_p$ IV.89, *ima dipiciçam taya ada akunavam patišam aryā*, "this (is) the inscription which I made in addition, in Aryan/Iranian." DB$_e$ IV.77–8, 78–9, ^{AN}*u-ra-mas-da* ^{AN}*na-ap* ^{DIŠ}*har-ri-ia-na-um pi-ik-ti* ^{DIŠ}*ú da-iš*, "Auramazdā, the god of the Aryans, bore me aide." For an Armenian parallel to this last passage see Schmitt 1991b.

101 Even though the word **anarya-* does not occur in the Achaemenid corpus (cf. Briant 2002: 180–1). On the meaning of 'Aryan' as opposed to 'Persian' see also Gnoli 1983, who similarly assumes a more specific meaning for the former, calling it "un terme traditionnel, culturel, religieux, un retour aux origines et un titre de noblesse particulière" (l.c. 14). I would disagree with Gnoli, however, that *arya-* refers to an inherited cultural/religious identity that remained intact within the more inclusive and political 'Persian' identity.

102 Herodotus cites Ἄριοι as an old name for the Medes, which probably is much more a reflection on a mythical past, than an actual historical memory.

Persian than Darius just because he did not make explicit his Persian identity in his titulature and chose a mark of distinction, that of Anšan, that had less significance at the time of Darius. 'Anšan' and 'Aryan' do not spell out full-blown ethnic or cultural identities but are both expressions of the special status that Persian kings awarded themselves in view of the realities of their day.

Meanwhile, ideological expression is just what it is: a surface phenomenon. Darius was no less an important heir to Elam and Elamite culture and no less the product to a Elamo-Iranian milieu than Cyrus and Cambyses. The Elamite used for his victory monument at Bīsotūn and by the scribes in the new residence he founded at Persepolis immediately places Darius' reign back in its historical context. The same is true for the deities with Elamite and Indo-Iranian background jointly venerated in the heartland. Such factors remind us of the long prehistory of the cultural environment in which not only Cyrus and Cambyses, but also Darius had grown up.

A recent find enables us to develop this last notion. Judging by the size of her private household, as attested in the Fortification texts, the most important woman at Darius' court was Irdabama (Henkelman 2010: 393–7). She may have been Darius' mother; if not, she must have been one of his wives. As I will explain in more detail elsewhere, Irdabama had a strong connection to Šullaggi in southeastern Khūzestān, close to the Zagros foothills, where she held an estate. This circumstance is unlikely to be fortuitous since Irdabama's commissioner (who acted directly on her behalf) used a heirloom seal with an inscription naming a certain Huban-ahpi, who, in turn, may tentatively be identified with the "Huban-ahpi of Šulluggi" mentioned in the Acropole archive from Susa, only a few generations before Irdabama. Thus, it is conceivable that Irdabama descended from a leading family, plausibly local dynasts, based at Neo-Elamite Šullaggi and that this was the reason why she not only had a heirloom seal mentioning Huban-ahpi (used by her commissioner), but also still held an estate at Šullaggi.[103] To this image it may be added, finally, that Neo-Elamite Šullaggi lay within an economic network centred on Susa and may have remained under Neo-Elamite political influence for a long time, perhaps down to the end of the Neo-Elamite period. For the early Persians it undoubtedly constituted an outpost of lowland Elamite culture with which regular contacts existed. In the Achaemenid period, however, Šullaggi fell under the purview of the administration centred on Persepolis, as appears from the Fortification tablets. Like Kurdušum, Hidali and Huhnur (cf. above), Šullaggi apparently shifted spheres of influence in a process of progressive Persianisation of the Zagros foothills. Perhaps we may relate Irdabama's Iranian name, contrasting with the Elamite name of her presumed ancestor Huban-ahpi, to this emergent early-Persian milieu.

The purpose of invoking Irdabama's history here is not to reveal that, whereas Cyrus was a true Persian, Darius was an Elamite, or at best a half-baked Aryan. What I would like to argue is that statements that set the cultural environments of Darius and Cyrus apart tend to pay less attention to the cultural latitude and the chronological depth from which Persian identity eventually evolved. Identity is neither static, nor simple, nor can it ever be fully expressed by, or grasped from, royal titulature. Both Cyrus and Darius unquestionably represent, each in his own way, phases in the development of the same new self-awareness,

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103 Something similar is true for Darius' wife Irtaštuna, who held an estate at Matannan where her (half-) brother Cambyses had previously built a palace (cf. §1 above).

formed over a long incubation period: that of the people of Pārsa. They found, within the cultural matrix of early Persia, elements of various origin that could be used and transformed to shape and proclaim their newly-acquired self. In the end it is not important whether these elements were Elamite or Indo-Iranian, but only that a fruitful encounter between various traditions led to a new dynamic and, eventually, to the emergence of the Persian empire. As it was with Achaemenid art, so it seems to have been with Persian identity: it was not the components, but the synthesis that mattered.

Appendix: Hinz and Gershevitch on the status of Achaemenid Elamite

For Walther Hinz a great cultural (and ethnic) divide existed between Elamites and Persians. The German scholar characterised the first, Elamite version of the Bīsotūn inscription as the result of a 'Diktat' by Darius that was immediately translated by his *Elamite* secretaries into Elamite. The subsequently added Old Persian text was a retroversion ("Rückübersetzung") from the Elamite, with slight corrections by the watchful king (Hinz 1968).[104] As for the Persepolis archives, Hinz conceded that some Persians might have had a passive command of Elamite, since they had "elamische Knechte, Hausdiener und Ammen," and therefore allowed for the possibility that some Persian officials could have understood the Elamite contents of a tablet read out for them by their Elamite aides (1971a: 271). Other officials might have relied on an oral translation. Yet, that any *Persian* would have learned to read and write Elamite, Hinz deemed "ausgeschlossen" (ibid. 309). Since, as Hinz noted, the great majority of the scribes mentioned in the tablets have Iranian names, they could not, in his view, be the persons who actually drafted the documents. Rather, they were secretaries who headed teams of anonymous Elamite clerks ("einen Schwarm elamischer Gehilfen"), who wrote down texts dictated in Persian and then read them back to their Persian supervisors. Those supervisors understood just enough Elamite to approve or disprove of the contents.

   Arguments against Hinz' absurd views are not hard to find. First, it seems unthinkable that Darius could have dictated *verbatim* a long and complicated text like the Bīsotūn inscription. Rather, a team of master scribes must have worked on general orders, used notes on Darius' campaigns drawn up by the royal chancellery, and finally drafted a rhetorically balanced and convincing text. Obviously, the text must have been submitted for approval by the king or an authorised court official. As for the literary and archaising acrolect that was used in the subsequent Old Persian version, it can hardly be the result of retroversion and probably does not even reflect the 'king's Persian.'[105] Rather, this version

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104   One wonders whether Hinz' use of the term (and concept) "Rückübersetzung" derives from his training in early Islamic literature, a field where retroversions (both modern and ancient) are a regular phenomenon. If so, his experience should have warned him for the pitfalls that seem almost unavoidable in assuming an ancient retroversion and deriving new 'insights' from that assumption. Thus, Hinz (1968) fails to cite direct indications support for the assumption of retroversion from Elamite into Old Persian, and instead focuses on certain *differences* between the two versions. He then proceeds to explain these differences from King's interference with the retroversion and concludes that they provide a new insight in Darius' psyche.

105   At any rate, inscriptional Old Persian was not the same as the vernacular language spoken in Achaemenid Pārsa. This appears from Tavernier's analysis of the Iranica found in the Persepolis archives and other 'Nebenüberlieferungen,' which show a number of phonetic developments not found

was loosely based on the Elamite version or a written *Vorlage* and then again submitted for royal approval. Darius himself tells us as much about the new *arya-* version of the text: *utā niyapaiθiya utā patiyafraθiya paišiyā mām*, "and it was written down and read out in my presence."[106]

As for the Persepolis archives, PN *tallišda* does not mean "X hat schreiben lassen," but simply "PN wrote/has written" – there is no support for the interpretation *tallišda* or similar forms as factitive, hence no support for the assumption of anonymous Elamite scribes directed by Persian secretaries.[107] Consistent omission of the name of the actual scribe would anyhow be at odds with general practice in the archive. It lacks a bureaucratic rationale and would have introduced an avoidable element of uncertainty and an opportunity for fraud. Secondly, though some of the memoranda are very short, others are quite complex in content and cannot be based on orally dictated orders.[108] It stretches credulity to believe

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in the inscriptional corpus (Tavernier 2002a: 272–318). It is quite astounding that even the Iranica in late Neo-Elamite texts such as the Acropole archive (first half 6th cent.), recently studied by the same scholar (2011: 239–40), yield some evidence for contractions, monophthongisations and vowel elisions suggesting that the underlying western Old Iranian vernacular from the late Neo-Elamite period represents a younger stage of the language than inscriptional Old Persian, although the latter is first attested at least fifty years later. Tavernier qualifies inscriptional Old Persian as "quite archaic." Similarly, Schmitt (2004: 717) describes the language of the inscriptions as "a rather artificial idiom." The relation between this acrolect register and the vernacular can therefore be described in terms of diglossia (on which Kremnitz 1996), though it should be added that inscriptional Old Persian may not have been spoken at all. For the literary and archaic character of the inscription (possibly rooting in a Persian oral tradition) see the discussion (with references) in Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980: 104–9; also: Cowgill 1968 (use of the aorist limited to epic formulae in Old Persian), Schmitt 1984: 185–91 (archaic 'Median' forms).

The circumstances that the inscriptional Old Persian is an artificial acrolect and that vernacular Old Persian remains very imperfectly known may obscure interference from Old Iranian on Achaemenid Elamite. An example is the structure of subordinate modal clauses introduced by *anka* ("when, if, whenever, because, as") in Achaemenid Elamite (Henkelman 2008b: 407–14), which seems Iranian, but has no exact parallel in the Old Persian inscriptions.

106 DB$_p$ IV.91 (text: Schmitt 2009: 87); cf. DB$_e$ IV.6–8, *kudda tallik kudda u tibba pepraka*, "and it was written down, and read out before me" (cf. Vallat 2011: 268 who translates "lue et relue devant moi," taking the reduplicated base *pepra-* [< *pera-*] as iterative). On *tibba*, "before, in the presence of," see Henkelman 2010: 682–4. Note that the king elsewhere boasts that he 'wrote' (commissioned) the inscription, but does not indicate that he dictated it: DB$_e$ III.84–5, *tuppi hi ... appa u tallira*, "this text/inscription that I wrote" ~ DB$_p$ IV.70–1, *imām dipim ... tayām adam niyapinθam*, "this inscription that I wrote."

107 *tallišda* is a regular first conjugation 3rd sing. with suffixed *-t* [tall(i).š.t]. Contrast *lakišda* [la.k.š.t], a conj. I form built on the derivative (conj. II) base *lak-*, hence plausibly to be explained as factitive: "he made/caused [them] to be sent," i.e. "he drove [cattle], he escorted [travellers]" (cf. Henkelman 2008b: 194 note 415). If this one example may serve as model, "he made PN write" would be **tallikišda* [talli.k.š.t]. Note that Hallock's analysis (1959: 3) of conj. I forms like *beptaš* ("he made rebellious") and *halpiš* ("he slew") as 'factitives' does not apply here, because *bepta-* and *halpi-* are intransitive in conj. II ("to die," "to be rebellious"), whereas *talli-* is passive in that conjugation. In the case of conj. I forms of *bepta-* and *halpi-*, it would seem better to avoid the term 'factitive' altogether and rather define the contrast between conj. I and II as transitive/intransitive.

108 Thus, PF 0865 lists no less than 23 different ration scales for people attached to a *kapnuški* ("treasury, craft centre") and NN 0907 documents five consecutive periods during which two royal horses received varying amounts of barley. Such documents must be based on provisional notes and lists (presumably kept on waxed boards or other ephemeral carriers). The information is also too complex

that an organisation that had controllability and accountability as its main purposes relied on oral dictation as a regular practice. Along the same lines, the officials in the higher spheres of the bureaucratic process, the controllers and accountants who scrutinized the memoranda drafted by lower officials, cannot have done their responsible job without the ability to read and write Elamite.[109]

This final point brings me to the "man with a tape recorder up his nose," or Gershevitch' theory on the nature of Achaemenid Elamite.[110] Since it is essentially an elaboration of Hinz' ideas, the objections raised above are pertinent to this theory as well. Like Hinz, Gershevitch assumes general Persian illiteracy and a complete control of inscriptional and administrative scribal activity by Elamophones.[111] The main difference is that Gershevitch believes that the Achaemenid Elamite written by Elamite scribes was not real Elamite but coded Old Persian that, more or less like stenography, could immediately and almost automatically be re-converted to spoken Old Persian by any other Elamite scribe trained in what he coined the "alloglottography of Old Persian."[112]

In Gershevitch' view the Persian 'executive' not even had a passive, oral command of Elamite – his words could just as well have been recorded in Livonian or Kwomtari, for he

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to allow for a scenario in which provisional notes were translated and read out for an Iranophone secretary, who then dictated a detailed message in Old Persian, which subsequently was translated and recorded in Elamite.

109   See Henkelman 2008b: 86–162 for a survey of administrative practices underlying the Fortification archive.

110   It has been doubted whether Gershevitch' paper on alloglottography was meant to be taken all that seriously. Stolper & Tavernier 2007: 9 note 3 feel that "much of it was meant not only as an amusement in its oral form, but actually as a parody of Iranian philology and epigraphy, to which some erudite notes and bitter criticisms were attached." I tend to agree with this and would furthermore suggest that Gershevitch' wry fantasy of Elamite scribes serving as tape recorders or tape-robots (1971: 4; 1979) was actually inspired by "A man with a tape recorder up his nose", the ninth episode of the first series of "Monty Python's Flying Circus," first aired by the BBC on December 14th, 1969, hence shortly before Gershevitch 1971 appeared.

111   This assumption acquires axiomatic value already at the outset of the study (1979: 118). Gershevitch rejects the regular interpretation of Old Persian *pati-pṛsa-* as "examine again," hence "read" (*patiy* + *fraθ-*, "examine") as inappropriate *because* the Persians were illiterate (q.e.d.!). Although the author notes that the verb has the meaning "to read" in Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian, he nevertheless holds that this "must" be a secondary development and goes to great lengths to prove that the illiterate Persians used *pati-pṛsa-* for "requesting the return of," i.e. ask from one's memory, "to recite" (accepted by Rubio 2007: 39). Though I will not object to the idea that the meaning "to read" could have developed from "to recite," it should be pointed out that the evidence adduced comes entirely from the younger *Avesta*. It may therefore postdate the seventh century, when, according to Gershevitch, the Persians arrived among the Elamites and started to use *pati-pṛsa-* in its secondary meaning. The real crux of the matter, however, and a fact tacitly glossed over by Gershevitch, is that though one may explain *pati-pṛsa-* as "to ask back," there is not evidence for its use as a causative or factitive verb, i.e. "make to recite," or "cause to read" (i.e. ask to read back in Persian). As appears from Gershevitch' Avestan examples, you do not *paiti-pərəsa-* a person, but a memory, an oral composition, or a text. In the Bīsotūn inscription, *pati-pṛsa-* has always the text (*dipim, dipiçam*) as object (DB$_p$ IV.42, IV.48, IV.91).

112   So already Gershevitch 1971: 3, "Persians could thus engage in correspondence and maintain written records, say, of delivery, consumption or payment, with complete indifference to the language in which they their scribes were doing the scribbling, just as the modern executive is indifferent to the shorthand from which stenographers write or read out to him what he needs to impart or to learn."

would not notice. It should be noted, however, that the analogy with stenography is a false one. A secretary's stenograph will be converted to an official letter or document to be signed by the executive *after reading and approving its content*. No such thing is possible for Gershevitch' Persian administrator, who could sign (with his seal), but not read and approve. In this context it is a nice irony that the language of preference for seal inscriptions at Persepolis was Elamite: following Gershevitch this would imply that the Persian executive was blind in more than one respect: he could not inspect the text, but also was unable to read his own signature.[113] Such complications, not to speak of the grave problem of administrative control (cf. above), are, like the contents of the tablets in general, not at all addressed by Gershevitch. No analysis of a representative sample of texts is undertaken, nor a developed scenario suggested that could explain the complex document circulation from the perspective of alloglottography.

Even a cursory scan of the corpus of administrative Achaemenid Elamite reveals that loanwords from Old Iranian are largely limited to technical terms; they are entirely absent among verbal forms.[114] As Yakubovich has pointed out, Iranian loans may get Elamite gender suffixes, but Elamite words never get Iranian case endings.[115] And though there are certain conventions for the transpositions of Iranian proper names and loans in Elamite, these are not applied in a very consistent way. Much variation also exists on the level of syntax: word order, use and distribution of different finite verbal forms, attributive constructions, the use and form of pronouns, etc.[116] Achaemenid Elamite is by definition unsuited as a system of template-like codes necessary for successful alloglottography as envisaged by Gershevitch. As argued in §2.3, it seems that the scribes had a varying command of Elamite, which, in most cases, does not seem to have been their first language. In fact, much of the variation depends of the decree of imposition from their native tongue. For those who work with the Persepolis archives, Gershevitch' picturesque notion of a "Humban Scribal College," with dons decreeing the strict rules of the alloglottography of Old Persian (1979: 132), reads as a sarcastic comment on what really is a fairly non-normative system that allowed for wide divergences between individual scribes.

Another argument may be derived from the use of determinatives. These are not used in a consistent way, nor according to fixed rules. Though their first function is to qualify the word (usually a noun or proper name) to which they are attached, they also serve, in Achaemenid Elamite, as an auxiliary system of interpunction and indication of grammatical category. Words marked with GIŠ (for material objects in general) will often be the direct

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113 Elamite as language of preference for seal inscriptions: Garrison 2002: 70–1, Henkelman 2008b: 99–100.

114 Cf. Tavernier 2002a: 317, 2008: 75 (also mentioning the use of MEŠ; see below). Cameron 1973: 50–4 already expressed his doubts on Gershevitch' theory. Among other things, he pointed out that Achaemenid Elamite contains a substantial number of loans from Old Persian, but not as many as expected in case of alloglottography. Moreover, the loans are distributed quite unevenly in the royal inscriptions.

115 Yakubovich 2008: 207, also pointing out that the difference in word order between Old Persian and Achaemenid Elamite pleads against alloglottography.

116 See, e.g., Schmitt 1986, Tavernier 2007a, passim, Henkelman 2008b: 87–8 note 193. Note that the system of transpositions of Iranian proper names and loans in Elamite is already in use in Neo-Elamite Susa (Tavernier 2011: 230–5)) and therefore not designed for the alloglottography of Old Iranian.

object, words marked with AŠ (for toponyms and locales) often mark the location of a transaction. While grammatical functions are primarily expressed by other markers (position in sentence, suffixes), they are additionally highlighted by the determinatives. Needless to say, the system, however inconsistently applied, is a language-internal feature: it is not designed to support alloglottography. The same is *a fortiori* true for uses of the postpositive determinative MEŠ. This determinative marks logograms (Sumerograms), pseudo-logograms, Akkadian loans, abbreviations, and historical spellings in Elamite words. Its use in Achaemenid Elamite continues that of earlier periods and is clearly aimed at aiding the proper reading of Elamite. It does not operate on the Elamite/Iranian edge: Iranian loans nor regular Elamite nouns (the supposed Elamographs for Iranian words) carry MEŠ.[117] Thirdly, phonetic complements or *matres lectionis* are used with Elamite words and Old Iranian loanwords alike. They unmistakably facilitate reading these words in Elamite, not retroversion into Old Iranian.[118]

In the case of the royal inscriptions, the main object of his theory, Gershevitch imagines a fairly cumbersome procedure: orally dictated texts, in Persian, were coded in Elamite 'alloglottography' on clay tablets, which served as *Vorlage* for the Elamite versions of the inscriptions. The same coded texts were re-translated into Old Persian and dictated to a second scribe writing in Old Persian cuneiform, also on clay tablets. These tablets would, in turn, be handed to the mason carving the inscription.[119] The divergences between Elamite and Old Persian versions are explained by assuming that the Old Persian retroversion was read out to Darius, who made last-minute corrections.[120] For other differences or apparent lack of consistency in the process of retroversion, Gershevitch has intricate solutions, often

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117   Sumerograms, marked with MEŠ, were heterograms for Elamite words. This is, in fact, the only kind of 'alloglottography' (xenography) which can actually be demonstrated in the Persepolis archives. Examples of this use of MEŠ are ^AN DINGIR.GAL^MEŠ and ^AN GAL^MEŠ for /Napiriša/ (also written syllabically, ^AN *na-pír-šá-ra*, ^AN *na-pír-šá-ir-ra*), DUMU for /šak/ (also *šá-ak-ri*, *šá-ik-ri*), LÚ for /ruʔ/ or /ruʔu/ (also *ru-hu*, *ru-uh*, *ru-ú*). In words with historical spellings, like *pu-hu*^MEŠ ("boy, servant"), MEŠ indicates that contemporary pronunciation was different, in this case /pu/ or /puʔ/. The determinative is hardly found with Iranian loans; I know of one example, PF 1943:21–30, where all the names of fowl, whether Elamite, Akkadian or Old Iranian, have MEŠ (my guess is that all these terms were thought to be unusual by the scribe).

118   The writing ^HAL *šá-*^hi *tin*, for regular ^HAL *šá-tin*, is aimed at avoiding confusion between DIN and KUR. Since *šatin*, "priest, officiant," is an Elamite word, the phonetic complement would have no use if *šatin* were just an Elamograph for an Old Iranian word. The writing *pa-ráš*^iš *-da* indicates that TUK should be read *ráš*, not *tuk*; *parašda* is an Elamite verbal form ("he went"). Here too, no alloglottographic purpose is served, but proper reading of Elamite. On phonetic complements in Elamite see also Vallat 1989; Tavernier 2007c.

119   Gershevitch 1971: 5; 1979: 151–2 note 56. Some doubt seems expressed in a question raised, but not addressed, in a later publication, the "question as to why the Elamograph [of DB; WH] at times conveys circumstances with greater precision than the phonetically written Persian version, when yet no one knew the circumstances better than the *Persian* king who throughout the inscription declares himself its author" (Gershevitch 1987: 56).

120   Despite this complicated procedure, Gershevitch assumes that the Old Persian versions of the inscriptions were not expected to be read: they were made for prestige reasons, whereas the Elamite versions served the purpose of retroversion upon request by interested Persians (1971: 6).

based on the assumption of misunderstandings by Elamite scribes. Altogether, only a handful of examples are discussed; no continuous alloglottographic readings are attempted.[121]

The upper inscription on the façade of Darius' tomb (DNa) is one of the texts mentioned by Gershevitch. Where the Elamite version (l.6) uses the word *tenum-dattira*, the Old Persian (l.7–8) has *framātāram*. Gershevitch posits an archaic, pre-Achaemenid Old Persian form, **framānā-dāra-*, "command-holder, Befehlshaber," which was calqued by pre-Achaemenid Elamite scribes as *tenum-dattira* (Gershevitch 1983). In the alloglottography of Old Persian, *tenum-dattira* then continued to be used as Elamograph (and 'pseudo-anachronism'), even after archaic **framānā-dāra-* was substituted by *framātār-*, "commander," in vernacular Old Persian. This explanation is not only highly hypothetical, but also obscures the independent value of the Elamite version. As Hinz first proposed, *tenum* may be explained from Akkadian *dīnu*, "verdict, law."[122] As for *datti-*, one may compare *tatta-*, "to set up, establish," a verb that is frequently attested in Middle and Neo-Elamite and on occasion is spelled *da-at-ta-*.[123] A *tenum-dattira* is then an "law-establisher," hence a calque of neither *framātar-*, nor of the ghost compound **framānā-dāra-*.[124] Note, more-

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121 The showcase of the 1979 study is the conjunction *kudda*, considered by Gershevitch to be a shorthand for *ak kudda*, in which *kudda* is a mere grapheme indicating that the regular Elamite conjunction *ak* should be read back as *ūta*, "and" (as opposed to unmarked occurrences of *ak*, which could stand as paragraph marker, comma, or equivalent of Old Persian enclitic *-ca*). Gershevitch moreover thought of *a-ak-ku-ud-da* (one form) as a hybrid Elamite-Iranian rendering of **ak ūta*, from which then the grapheme *kudda* was derived (1979: 129–33, 156–68). But why? Elamophones trained in 'alloglottographing' Old Iranian surely could have held *ak* and *ūta* apart. Conversely, if the scribes were Iranophones, they would not have deformed *-ud-da*, the calque for Old Persian *ūta*, to *kudda*. Zadok has pointed out that a Neo-Elamite occurrence of *ku-da*, if read correctly and if identical to Achaemenid Elamite *ku-ud-da*, would cast doubt on Gershevitch' proposal (Zadok 1995: 243, followed by Stolper 2004: 87–8 and Tavernier 2008: 75). The reading of the relevant passage in EKI 76:15, as proposed by EW s.v. *ku-da* (replacing the earlier reading by Hinz 1962: 113), is not entirely certain because of a preceding break, but comparison with EKI 16:26 certainly makes it attractive. Apart from that, it seems to me that *kudda* (spelled *ku-ud-da* and *ku-ut-te*), "and, also," may have a cognate in Middle, Neo-and Achaemenid Elamite *kuttina* (*ku-ut-ti-na*, *kut-ti-na*, *kut-ta-na*; see EW q.vv.), "altogether, in total" (perhaps literally "in addition" vel sim.). Whereas it is clear that the frequent use of *kudda* in inscriptional Achaemenid Elamite is to be explained from the need to find an equivalent of the emphatic conjunction *ūta* (as opposed to enclitic *-ca*), and while the use of *ak* vs. (*ak*) *kudda* roughly mimics the system of two conjunctions used in Old Persian (though *ak* has more functions than *-ca*), it seems more attractive to assume imposition by Iranophones than an alloglottographic rule. The inconsistencies in the application of *kudda* match imposition (lack of fixed norm, varying degree of command of the second language), but are hardly explicable from an enforced scribal principle. Though Gershevitch doggedly pursues the second option, his protracted treatment clearly shows that there are simply too many exceptions to allow for the assumption of wilfully imposed 'rules' for the use of *kudda* as grapheme.

Another case is that of Elamite *kappaka*, which supposedly codes **ha(n)mata-*. That word, however, is not used as equivalent for *kappaka* in either of the two pertinent passages in the Old Persian version of Bīsotūn; in both cases Gershevitch assumes a scribal error in the retroversion to Old Persian (1979: 124–5). His subsequent definition of the alloglottographic rule for the use of *kappaka* is so complicated that it can hardly be taken serious (ibid. 136).

122 Hinz 1971b: 20, idem 1973: 59–60 (also discussing earlier explanations), followed by Gershevitch 1983.

123 Cf. EW s.vv. *te-nu-um.da-ut-ti-ra*, *da-at-ta-qa*, *ta-at-táh*, *ta-at-ta-h*, etc.

124 Also, the opinion that *tenumdatt(a)-* as a whole calques Old Persian *framā-* is squarely contradicted

over, that Akkadian *dīnu* is already attested in Iranian context in an inscription by Puzur-
Inšušinak (23rd century), occurs in various technical meanings in the Old Babylonian legal
texts from Susa, and is used, in its Elamite form (*tenum*), in a Neo-Elamite text.[125] By the
Achaemenid period, *tenum* is likely to have been considered as an inherited Elamite word,
but presumably also had developed legal and administrative meaning particular to its
Elamite contexts. Gershevitch contrasts the titles *xšāyaθiya-* and *framātar-*, arguing that the
second refers to control of all administrative details: "as *xšāyaθiya-* Darius rules, as
framātar- he regulates."[126] This contrast may indeed be implied in the Old Persian version,
but such can only be convincingly established with the help of the Elamite text, which is
more precise in this regard. Explaining *tenum-dattira* alloglottographically limits the hori-
zon to the unrevealing term *framātar-*; by contrast, treating the Elamite text as an authentic
version in its own right opens a view to Iran's age-old legal and administrative institu-
tions.[127]

Gershevitch insists that XPh, the so-called *daivā* inscription, was not subjected to a final
royal correction, which puts the blame for divergences entirely on the shoulders of the
scribes. These divergences are particularly striking in the case of XPh. Where, for example,
the Old Persian simply states, *antar aitā dahyāva āha yadātaya paruvam daivā ayadiya*,
"among those countries there was (one) where formerly (the) *daivā* where venerated"

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by the same inscription, where *tenum* (DNa$_e$ 46–7) occurs in parallel position with *framānā* (DNa$_p$
57).

125 Puzur-Inšušinak: MDP 4 pl. 2 IV.9; Susa legal texts: cf. CAD D 151, 153 s.v. *dīnu* 1a2', 3a–b (also
     154, 3c [in an omen text]); Neo-Elamite occurrence: EKI 73C 3 (cf. EW s.v. *te-nu-um*).

126 Gershevitch 1983: 53 note 7, followed by Schmitt 2000: 31.

127 The same inscription, DNa, yields other divergences between the Old Persian and Elamite versions
     that not easily explicable from alloglottography. Compare ^{DIŠ}*ú-ik-ki-ma-ir da-nu-ip*, "they were in the
     state of being ruled by me" (stressing the static condition [cf. Stolper 1978: 268]; DNa$_e$ 14) and its
     plain Old Persian parallel *adamšām patiyaxšayai*, "I ruled over them" (DNa$_p$ 18–9). Even if the
     Elamite renders faithfully a different Old Persian original, the retroversion into Old Persian resulted
     in a very different wording. The same is true for *ziyaša hi murun pirrampiram ha ullak*, "he saw this
     world delivered to chaos" (DNa$_e$ 27–8), where *pirrampiram* supposedly directly transcribes
     *frampram, "chaos," from the assumed Old Persian original. In Gershevitch' scenario, the phrase was
     retranslated and changed by the king, who for reasons unknown now preferred another term for
     'chaos,' to *avaina imām bumīm yauda^{n}tim*, "he saw this world being in commotion/
     agitation" (DNa$_p$ 32). It would seem that in both examples the simple solution is that the Elamite and
     Old Persian versions are not translations of each other, but realisations of the same message put to
     different words.

     With inanimate nouns loaned from Old Iranian, Achaemenid Elamite generalises the Iranian
     accusative case on *-m*. Such is the case with *pír-ra-um-pi-ram$_0$*, which renders OPers. **frampram*.
     Similarly, the nominative on *-š* is generalised in animate nouns, month names and toponyms, even in
     the case of the Indo-Iranian *-o* and *-a* stems, which lost *c.q.* never had a final *-s* (cf. Hallock 1969: 9–
     10; Tavernier 2002a: 314–6; Schmitt, this volume). Syntactic function of the case-neutral forms that
     are thus produced is marked by word order and resumptive pronouns, and where necessary by the
     addition of suffixes indicating gender, person and/or attribution. If this were a system designed for
     retroversion to Old Persian, it would hardly be the most effective one. The generalisation of final *-m*
     and *-š* for inanimates and animates respectively clearly mimics the traditional system of Elamite
     primary animate and inanimate suffixes and strikes me not as a sign of defective knowledge of Old
     Iranian by Elamophones, but as a mark of imposition by Iranophones. This view is supported by the
     observation that in the Neo-Elamite of the Acropole texts (most likely written by Elamophones), no
     Iranian toponyms on *-a* are transcribed with final *-š* (see Tavernier 2011: 207.

(XPh$_p$ 35–6), the Elamite is in the active voice and uses a rather different wording: *hi* ŠÀ-*ma dayama šari mur appuka dama šibbe huddašda*, "among these countries there is/was one where formerly they made a sacrificial feast for the *daivā*" (XPh$_e$ 29–30). Although the Elamite version has the same word order as the Old Persian, it once more introduces a term with a specific connotation and history in the Elamite past: *šip*. The same word appears five more times in the same inscription, also in association with Auramazdā. As can be gleaned from the Fortification texts, *šip* was a, mostly royal, sacrificial feast celebrated at Pasargadae and other important places. The term itself is already attested (as *šup* and *šip*) in Middle and Neo-Elamite royal inscriptions. As for XPh, the Akkadian version has *isinnu*, "religious festival," which comes much closer to Elamite *šip*. Gershevitch' tried to save the primacy of the Old Persian version by suggesting that the original had **daiva-yasna*, which was alloglottographed *dama šibbe* in Elamite. But this does not explain why the subsequent retroversion into Persian gave such a divergent result. Moreover, **yasna-* (if it existed in Old Persian) does not mean "sacrificial feast" (vel sim.), but "worship," and is therefore unlikely to have been 'coded' *šip* in the Elamite version.[128] One could also wonder why such a key term was not simply transcribed in Elamite, since XPh$_e$ is replete with transcriptions of Iranian words. In fact, there is so much Iranian in the Elamite text that it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it was drafted by an Iranophone not too well versed in Elamite. That he nevertheless knew the term *šip* is an indication of the significance of Elamite traditions to Persian society, a circumstance also underlined by the use of *šip* (and not a loan from Old Persian) in the Fortification tablets.

In examining the scenarios proposed by Hinz and Gershevitch one is struck by the apparent unwillingness to embrace the obvious: that Iranophones were able and willing to read and write Elamite. The axiomatic separation of Iranophone 'dictators' and Elamophone servants casts upon the ancient Persians a colonist attitude not reflected in primary evidence. It misrepresents the functioning of the administrative apparatus and obscures the significance of the Elamite versions of the royal inscriptions as authentic representations of the king's words. Even a more liberal version of the theory of alloglottography, accepting that Persians could read and write Elamographically, would not work, for Achaemenid Elamite still does not qualify as a mechanical code for recording Iranian and lacks the signs indicating such usage. In conclusion, alloglottography (and its antecedents in Hinz' work)

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128 Gershevitch 1979: 153 note 59 proposes **daiva-yasna mā kryaiš*, "daiva-worship be not conducted," as the original wording underlying *šibbe anu huddan* in XPh$_e$ 32, where XPh$_p$ 38–9 simply has *daivā mā yadiyaiša*, "the daivā shall not be worshipped." In my understanding, the Elamite construction is a subordinate clause expressing finality, however: *ki-te-in uk-ku ap-pi da da-a-ma ši-ib-be a-nu hu-ud-da-an*, "I placed *kiten* (divinely enforced ban) upon them, lest the sacrificial feast of the *daivā* be celebrated." In the Old Persian version this is paralleled by *patiyazbayam daivā mā yadiyaiša*, "I proclaimed: the *daivā* shall not be worshipped." The wording is entirely different from the Elamite text: the two versions are obviously independent. In fact, without the Elamite one would miss part of the meaning and take *patiyazbayam* as referring to a plain legal act directed at the mortal followers of the *daivā*. The use of Elamite *kiten* shows that Xerxes' 'proclamation' is made in the cultic realm: the king invokes god-given power to put a ban on the celebration of the *daivā*, he is Auramazdā's champion battling the power of the evil gods. For discussion of *šip* and *kiten* in XPh and of *šip* in the Fortification texts see Henkelman 2008b: 367–71 and 2011. For the Elamite version of XPh and its numerous transcriptions of Old Iranian see Cameron 1959, who already concluded that its scribe had a very poor knowledge of Elamite.

remains an unnecessarily complicated explanation for a phenomenon that is actually both common and well studied: the (imperfect) acquisition of a second language and the resulting restructuring of that language on the model of the speakers' first language (cf. §2.3 above).[129]

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129   Rubio (2007) retakes the theory of alloglottography, but does not address the assumptions (illiterate Persians, Elamite scribes) and arguments underlying the original concept or the problems inherent in it. Note that the Arameograms in Middle Iranian (to which both Gershevitch and Rubio refer), which have phonetic complements indicating their Iranian pronunciation, are in fact a contrasting rather than supporting parallel. In Achaemenid Elamite the supposed 'elamographs' are not marked with such phonetic complements; wherever phonetic complements are used, they are aimed at the correct pronunciation of Elamite, not retroversion into Iranian (cf. above). As for Eblaite (also mentioned by Rubio): suffixed endings attached to logograms appear in (Achaemenid) Elamite too and, as in Eblaite, they betray the language in which the logograms were read. These endings are Elamite (e.g., ^{DIŠ}EŠŠANA-*me*, "kingship," DB$_e$ I.7), not Iranian. Finally, I would disagree with the remark (Rubio 2007: 69 [postscript]) that Old Persian was linguistically and graphically too alien to penetrate "the written texture of the Elamite." The contrary appears to be true: written Elamite is indeed replete with contact-induced features pointing to interference from Old Iranian (cf. §2.3 below). Yet, analysis of the types of interference, in tandem with an evaluation of the language as a whole, including its graphophonemic features, leads me to think of Achaemenid Elamite as a real yet partially restructured language resulting from imposition by Iranophone users, not a mere graphic system coding Old Iranian.

Having said so, I should add that Rubio's conceptual understanding of 'alloglottography' as a broad phenomenon attested in various periods and cultural settings results in a very different, and rather more sophisticated model in comparison to that of Gershevitch. Its merits seem beyond doubt, but its relevance for the case of Achaemenid Elamite remains largely undemonstrated. See also Yakubovich' critical remarks (2008). If anything, Rubio's study provides the concept of alloglottography, which is not often cited in linguistic literature, with a more solid documentary basis. For a rare take on alloglottography by a contact linguist see Langslow 2002: 44–6, who is cautious about Gershevitch' conclusions (noting that there is little interference from Elamite in the known Old Persian texts), and rather hesitant about the theory's relevance for the so-called 'macaronic' Latin-English sermons (ibid. 37). On Gershevitch and alloglottography see also Rossi 2006.

Von Dassow, in a rich study on Canaano-Akkadian (2004), adopts the principle of alloglottography to explain the particular nature of Akkadian written by Canaanite scribes (notably in some of the Amarna letters). The author rejects the possibility that Canaano-Akkadian could be a contact language, discussing the three main types (pidgins, creoles and bilingual mixed languages) treated in Thomason's handbook (2001). It is true that Canaano-Akkadian does not fit the definition of any of these types, but one should distinguish between contact languages stricto sensu and language contact in general: there are many examples of contact-induced change that do not lead to a pidgin, creole or bilingual mixed language. Although Von Dassow persuavely demonstrates how closely Canaano-Akkadian follows Canaanite morphosyntax, I wonder whether it would not be more fruitful to discuss at least some of the phenomena involved (such as the hybrid verbal forms) from the concept of imposition, i.e. Canaanites acquiring Akkadian as a second language (for a limited, technical use), and restructuring their version of Akkadian to such a degree that near-isomorphism with their native language is attained.

Abbreviations

AAH = Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AchHist = Achaemenid History
AfO = Archiv für Orientforschung
AI = Acta Iranica
AION = Annali dell'Istituto Universitario di Napoli
AMI = Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
AMIT = Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan
AOAT = Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF = Altorientalische Forschungen
ARTA = Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology
BAI = Bulletin of the Asia Institute
BiOr = Bibliotheca Orientalis
BSLP = Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris
CAH = Cambridge Ancient History
CDAFI = Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran
CII = Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum
EncIr = Encyclopedia Iranica
GOF = Göttinger Orientforschungen
HANE/M = History of the Ancient Near East Monographs
HdO = Handbuch der Orientalistik
IrAnt = Iranica Antiqua
JA = Journal Asiatique
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society
JIES = Journal of Indo-European Studies
JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies
MDP = Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
NABU = Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
OIP = Oriental Institute Publications
OLA = Orientalia Lovaniensa Analecta
PIHANS = Publications de l'Institute Historique et Achéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul
RGTC = Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes
RLA = Reallexikon der Assyriologie
SAA = State Archives of Assyria
SAAS = State Archives of Assyria Studies
SbÖAW = Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SEL = Studi Epipgrafici e Linguistici
StIr = Studia Iranica
TAVO = Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TCS = Texts from Cuneiform Sources
TPS = Transactions of the Philological Society
VDI = Vestnik Drevnej Istorii
WO = Die Welt des Orients
YNER = Yale Near Eastern Researches
ZAss = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie

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